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THE KHAZAR KINGDOM'S CONVERSION TO JUDAISM*

OMELJAN PRITSAK

I

The Khazar Kingdom was ruled by the A-shih-na dynasty of Western Turks (Türküts), who, after losing both Turkestans to the Chinese, took over the territory of the former Ak-Katzirs (Ἀκάτζιροι > Khazars) in southeastern Europe.[1] T'ong She-hu (*yabγu*), ruler from 618 to 630, acquired the high title of *šad* in 627;[2] his son established the new realm in the 630s and 640s. Gradually, the Western Turkic newcomers replaced the Bulgars-Onoghurs (*Bulγar, Onoγur*) in Eastern Europe.

Other Western Turkic charismatic tribes who joined in the new venture were the *Barč* (< *Warāč* ~ *Warāz*), the *Kābar*, and the *Aba*. The most important role was played by the *Barč* (> *Balč-ān* > *Bolč-ān* >> *Bolān*),[3] which was the leading "brother-in-law tribe." Its members intermarried with the ruling dynasty, and its chief held the high title of *beg* in Turkic, *ixšēδ* in Iranian. During the first period of Turkic-Khazarian history, which was marked by an abortive struggle with the Arabs for hegemony in the Caucasus, the chief was usually a military commander who gradually attained the status of a majordomo.

The Turkic-Khazar Pax, which was closely connected with the Western

* This paper is based on a lecture delivered at the Tōru Haneda Memorial Hall of the University of Kyoto on 16 September 1978, and at the Toyo Bunko, cosponsored by the Tōhō Gakkai, Tokyo, on 22 September 1978.

1 I deal with the *Ak-Katzir / Khazar* problem in volumes 4 to 6 of my study *The Origin of Rus'*, in preparation.

2 T'ong She-hu, who was visited by the famous Buddhist pilgrim Hüan-tsang in 630 (see Hui-li, *The Life of Hsuan-tsang*, trans. by Li Yung-hsi [Peking, 1959], p. 43), concluded an alliance with the Byzantine emperor Heraclius (610–41) against the Sassanid emperor Chosraw II Parvēz (591–628) in 627. The Byzantine sources call him Ζιέβηλ (see Edouard Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue Occidentaux* [St. Petersburg, 1900], pp. 228, 252–53). Concerning Ζιέβηλ also see Gyula Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Berlin, 1958), pp. 130–31.

3 The *Warāč / Barč* and others are discussed in volumes 4 to 6 of *The Origin of Rus'*.

Turkic ruling clan, had three major provinces. The first province, *Khwalis* (< *Khwali-Ās*),[4] on the Lower Volga, was the realm of the trading Eastern Iranians; its twin city *Āmol/Ātil*, also called *Sāriγčin/Khamlīkh* (PVL: *Xvalisy*),[5] was ruled by a governor with the title of *tarkhan* (*Ās tarkhan*).[6] After the catastrophe of A.H. 104/A.D. 722–723,[7] the capital of the Turkic Khazars was transferred to the twin-city.[8] The western city, Āmol or Sāriγčin, became the center of rites and government, while the eastern city, Ātil or Khamlīkh, became the commercial district.

The second province, *Semender/Sabīr*,[9] lay in the Northern Caucasus. Its ruler, who belonged to the Barč clan, resided in the town of Semender on the Terek River. Until 722–723, Semender had been the capital of the Turkic-Khazar realm.

Šārkel, the third province, was situated near the lower Don, in the area where the Volga makes a bend. The province was a shipping crossroads, for goods were portaged across the narrow neck of land that separates the two great rivers there. In about 834 the Byzantine engineer Petronas, surnamed Camaterus, built a stone city, also named Šārkel, in the province at the request of the Khazar government.[10] The city was the seat of the Khazars' main customs office, headed by an official whom the Arabs called "lord of the Khazars" (*ṣāḥib al-Khazar*).[11]

4 For the etymology, see Norman Golb and Omeljan Pritsak, *Khazarian Hebrew Documents of the Tenth Century* (Cornell University Press, in press).

5 The names of the twin-city are discussed in Golb and Pritsak, *Khazarian Hebrew Documents*.

6 *Āstarkhān* (*A.s.t.r.khān al-Khwārizmī*) appears in the Annals of aṭ-Ṭabarī (*Ta'rīkh*, ed. by M. J. de Goeje, ser. 3 [Leiden, 1879–80], p. 328) as the Turkic Khazar commander of a major attack against Transcaucasia in 762–764. The Armenian historian Łevond (8th c.) called him *Raž-t'arkhan* in his "History of Armenia" (continuation of Sebēos to A.D. 788), ed. by K. Ezeanc' (St. Petersburg, 1900), p. 132; cf. al-Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, ed. by M. J. de Goeje, vol. 2 (Leiden, 1883), p. 446: *Rā's Ṭarkhān*, where *Raž/Rā's* goes back to **avrs-* ~ **arsya-* (cf. E. G. Pulleyblank, *Asia Major*, vol. 9 [London, 1954], p. 220). Cf. also Douglas M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars* (Princeton, 1954), p. 180, fn. 3; V. Minorsky in *Oriens* (Leiden), 11 (1958): 127, 136; and Károly Czeglédy, "Khazars Raid in Transcaucasia in 762–764 A.D.," *Acta Orientalia Hungaricae* (Budapest), 11 (1960): 83–86.

7 Concerning these events see Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars*, pp. 62–66.

8 In A.H. 119/A.D. 737 the capital was already the city of *al-Baiḍā'* (= Sāriγčin); see Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon*, ed. by Carolus Johannes Tornberg, vol. 4 (Leiden, 1870), p. 234.

9 The *Semender/Sabīr* tribes are discussed in volumes 4 to 6 of *The Origin of Rus'*. There the city of Semender is identified with modern Kizljar on the Terek River (Northern Caucasia).

10 Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ed. by Gyula Moravcsik (Budapest, 1949), p. 42 (text) = p. 43 (Eng. trans., by R.J.H. Jenkins); cf. also p. 64 (text) = p. 65 (Eng. trans.).

11 See the emendations to Ibn Khurdāḏbeh, *Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-mamālik*, ed. by

The pax also included tributory hereditary realms governed by kings with the Turkic title *el-tebir*. There seem to have been seven such territories:

(1) *Khotzir*[12] (< *Akkatzir*) — realm of the Khazars proper, who, once their leading role in Eastern Europe ended, found refuge on the Crimean Peninsula, as had the Goths before them. Their ruler was called *khat'ir-litber* by an Armenian source (Łevond) in connection with events of 764.[13] Its capital was Phullai,[14] site of present-day Planerskoe, located on the coast between Sugdaea and Theodosia.[15]

(2) *Hun*[16] — realm of the former masters of the steppe, who had settled in the basin of the Sulak River, to the north of Derbend. Its capital was called *Varač'an* in the Armenian sources and *Balanğar* in the Islamic.[17]

(3) *Onoγur*[18] — realm along the banks of the Lower Kuma River. Archeologists have identified its capital with the site of Madžary.[19]

(4) *"Turkoi"* — Byzantine designation for the people who would become Hungarians[20]; in the ninth century they were settling in the basin of the Sivers'kyj Donec' (*Lebedia*).[21]

M. J. Goeje, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum (hereafter BGA), vol. 6 (Leiden, 1889), p. 154, that I give in "An Arabic Text on the Trade Route of the Corporation of ar-Rūs," *Folia Orientalia* (Cracow), 12 (1970): 254–57.

[12] The name ὁ Χοτζήρων/ὁ Χοτζίρων appears in the project of the Gothic archbishopric from the last quarter of the eighth century; see C. de Boor, "Nachträge zu den Notitiae episcopatuum," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 12 (1891): 531, 533–34. On the connection between Χοτζιρ- and 'Ακάτζιρ, see K. Czeglédy, "Bemerkungen zur Geschichte der Chazaren," *Acta Orientalia Hungaricae* 13 (1961): 244. More data about Χοτζιρ- and Khazar are given in volumes 4 to 6 of *The Origin of Rus'*.

[13] < **khat'ir – ilt(e)ber*, Łevond, ed. by K. Ezeanc', p. 132. Cf. K. Czeglédy in *Acta Orientalia Hungaricae* 11 (1960): 84–85.

[14] The seat of the bishopric ὁ Χοτζίρων was also in Phullai; see A. A. Vasilev, *The Goths in the Crimea* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), pp. 97–98.

[15] V. V. Kropotkin, "Iz istorii srednevekovogo Kryma," *Sovetskaja arxeologija* 28 (1958): 212–18. Cf. Jonathan Shepard in *Byzantine Studies* (University of Pittsburgh), 1, no. 1 (1974): 24–25.

[16] This was also the name of the bishopric: ὁ Οὔννων. See de Boor, "Nachträge zu den Notitiae episcopatuum," p. 531.

[17] Joseph Markwart was first to recognize that the *Balanğar* of the Arabic sources corresponded to the *Varač'an* of the Armenian sources, in his *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge* (Leipzig, 1903), p. 16. The subject is discussed in volumes 4 to 6 of *The Origin of Rus'*; the identification of the city of Varač'an with Tarqu (Tarkhu), near Petrovsk (now Maxač-kala), is also given there.

[18] This was also the name of the bishopric ὁ 'Ονογούρων; see de Boor, "Nachträge zu den Notitiae episcopatuum," p. 531.

[19] See N. A. Karaulov in *Sbornik materialov dlja opisanija mestnostej i plemen Kavkaza*, vol. 38 (Tiflis, 1908), pp. 20–21.

[20] All data from the Byzantine sources are collected in Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2: 321–22. Cf. also O. Pritsak, "Yowár und Κάβαρ Kāwar," *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* 36 (1965): 383.

[21] The explanation for this localization of Lebedia is given in Omeljan Pritsak,

(5) *Volga-Bulgar* — the realm's capital, *Bulġār* (*Bulγar*), was located on the Volga.[22]

(6) *Volga-Sovār* — the realm's capital, *Sovār*, was also on the Volga.[23]

(7) *Furtas* (< **furt-ās* or 'River-As')[24] — realm along the middle Volga whose inhabitants the Islamic sources call *Burṭās*.[25]

As in all steppe empires, commerce was the economic base of the Khazar realm. Therefore the Khazars maintained good relations with economic centers, and tried to control neighboring city-states whenever possible, by either peaceable or military means. The sources mention three types of Khazar rule over the city-states. The first type was through an elected primate, referred to as "father of the city,"[26] in Khazarian *babağuq*.[27] Such rule existed in two important Crimean cities: *Cherson/Korsun'* (ca. 705–710 to 840)[28] and *Phanagoria*.[29] The second type of administration was through an appointed primate, whom the Khazars called *baliγči*, or "fishermen."[30] Under such rule were *Bosporus*, on the

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"From the Säbirs to the Hungarians," in *Hungaro-Turcica: Studies in Honour of Julius Németh* (Budapest, 1976), pp. 17–30.

[22] The most detailed account on the Islam of the Volga-Bulgars is found in the *Risāle* of Ibn Faḍlān, which relates his journey of A.D. 922: A. Zeki Validi Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht* (Leipzig, 1939); A. P. Kovalevskii (Kovalivs'kyj), *Kniga Axmeda Ibn Fadlana o ego putešestvii na Volgu v 921–922 gg.* (Xarkiv, 1956). Cf. also V. Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* (London, 1937), pp. 460–61; Minorsky, *Marvazī on China, the Turks and India* (London, 1945), pp. 109–122.

[23] On the Sovārs see Zeki Validi Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, pp. 203–210.

[24] More data on this etymology are given in volumes 4 to 6 of *The Origin of Rus'*.

[25] Tadeusz Lewicki, "Ze studiów nad źródłami arabskimi. Część III. I. Siedziby i pochodzenie Burtasów," *Slavia Antiqua* (Poznań), 12 (1965): 1–14.

[26] The title was apparently of colonial Crimean Greek origin; see Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ed. by Gy. Moravcsik, p. 184 (Eng. trans., p. 185): Μέχρι γὰρ Θεοφίλου τοῦ βασιλέως οὐκ ἦν στρατηγὸς ἀπο τῶν ἐντεῦθεν ἀποστελλόμενος, ἀλλ' ἦν ὁ τὰ πάντα διοικῶν ὁ λεγόμενος πρωτεύων μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπονομαζομένων πατέρων τῆς πόλεως, i.e., "For up till the time of Theophilus, the emperor [829–42], there was no military governor sent from here to the city of Cherson (Korsun'), but all administration was in the hands of the so-called primate, with those who were called the fathers of the city."

[27] See fn. 28. V. Minorsky, who was not aware of the Byzantine testimony given in fn. 26, mistakenly took this title to be "restored as **Babajïq* (better **Babajuq*) 'Little Father,' quite a plausible name in a Uralo-Altaic milieu," in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (hereafter *WZKM*), 56 (1960): 131.

[28] In 705 Cherson was ruled by the emperor's plenipotentiary, who had the title *tudun* (see fn. 34), and by the primate of Cherson (πρωτοπολίτης), named Zoïlus (Ζωίλος); Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. by C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1883), p. 378 (subsequent references are to this edition). See also fn. 26.

[29] The title has been reconstructed on the basis of an information in Theophanes' *Chronographia*, which mentions, for ca. 703, a Khazarian official of Phanagoria called Παπατζύς (p. 373, l. 8). Cf. fn. 31.

[30] V. Minorsky, "Balgitzi – 'Lord of the Fishes'," *WZKM*, 56: 130–37. The title is of Alanian origin: Ossetian *Käfty-Sär Khuyän-don-äldar* 'Lord of the Fishes, Prince of the Strait' (Minorsky, *WZKM*, 56: 135).

Kerch Strait,[31] and the city on the Taman Peninsula called *Tamatarcha* in the Byzantine sources, *Jewish Samkarč* (*S.m.k.r.š al-Yahūd*)[32] in the Islamic sources, and *T'mutorokan'* in the Rus' Primary Chronicle.[33] The third type of administration was by a Khazar governor called *tudun*.[34] During the Khazars' rule over the Crimean Gothic realm (especially A.D. 786 to ca. 810), the Gothic capital of *Doros* was so governed.[35]

In addition to the provinces and tributory realms, the Khazar pax included several tributory peoples. According to King Joseph's reply (the long version), they were three Slavic groups — the *Ventič* (*W.n.n.t.y.t.*), the *Sever* (*S.w.w.r.*), said by the Primary Chronicle to be descendants of the Poljane and Derevljane, and the *Slovene* (*Ṣ.l.w.y.w.n.*) — and three Fennic groups — the *Ār*, the *Ves'* (> *Īsū*), and the *Čeremis*.[36]

The Khazars' most important trade routes passed through the basins of the Don and Volga, along the shores of the Azov Sea, and across the territories between the Black Sea, the Caspian Sea, and the Aral Lake. Sometime after the fall of the Avars, in the mid-ninth century, when Regensburg (Ratisbona) became the capital of the eastern Carolingian state, a transcontinental trade route developed from Regensburg to Itil, with transit centers at newly founded Vienna and Kiev.[37]

The Khazar government maintained a standing army of 12,000 men. The recruits were Eastern Iranians of the Muslim religion (mainly Khwārizmians) called *Ārsiya*. Their commander held the rank of minister (*vezier*) in the Khazar government.[38]

31 Theophanes, *Chronographia*, p. 373, l. 8–9: ἐντειλάμενος Παπατζύν, τὸν ἐκ προσώπου αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖσε ὄντα, καὶ Βαλγίτζιν, τὸν ἄρχοντα Βοσπόρου, ἵνα, ὅταν δηλωθῇ αὐτοῖς, ἀνέλωσιν Ἰουστινιανόν "He [i.e., the Khazar emperor] commanded Papatzys, who was his representative there [i.e., in Phanagoria], and Balgitzis, the governor of Bosporus, to kill Justinian [II, 685–95, 705–711], when a message would come to them."

32 P. Kokovcov, A. Zajączkowski, and V. Minorsky correctly identified the בולשצי BWLŠṢY of the MS "Schechter" (fol. 2a, ll. 20–21) with the title *baliγči* (Pavel K. Kokovcov, *Evrejsko-xazarskaja perepiska v X veke* (Leningrad, 1932), pp. 118–19, fn. 6; A. Zajączkowski, *Ze studiów nad zagadnieniem chazarskim* (Cracow, 1947), p. 36; Minorsky in *WZKM*, 56: 131–32.

33 About Tmutorokan', see M. I. Artamonov, *Istorija xazar* (Leningrad, 1962), pp. 439–45.

34 The (Khazaro-) Bulgarian form of that title was *trun* (‹ *tŭδún*); cf. A. A. Šaxmatov, "Zametka ob jazyke volžskix bolgar," *Sbornik Muzeja antropologii i ètnografii* (Petrograd), 5 (1918): 398–400. Cf. B. F. Manz in this issue, p. 288.

35 See Vasiliev, *Goths in the Crimea*, p. 106. Cf. also fn. 28.

36 "אלה שמותם בורטס בולגר סואר אריסו צרמיס וננתית סוור צלויון [King Joseph's reply (the long version)]," ed. P. K. Kokovcov, p. 31, l. 11–12.

37 Fritz Rörig, *Die Europäische Stadt und die Kultur des Bürgertums im Mittelalter* (Göttingen, 1964), p. 17.

38 See Golb and Pritsak, *Khazarian Hebrew Documents*.

The religious tolerance typical of all nomadic empires is known to have existed in the Khazar state. During the first half of the tenth century, the Muslim traveler and prolific writer al-Mas'ūdī confirmed its practice as follows:

The predominating element in this country [Khazaria] are the Muslims, because they form the royal army. They are known in this country as Ārsiyah and are immigrants from the neighborhood of Khwārizm. . . . They also have Muslim judges (*quḍāt*). The custom in the Khazar capital is to have seven judges. Of these, two are for the Muslims, two for the Khazars judging according to the Torah, two for those among them who are Christians judging according to the Gospel, and one for the Ṣaqāliba, Rūs and other pagans judging according to pagan law, i.e., on theoretical principles: when a serious case is brought up, of which they have no knowledge, they come before the Muslim judges and plead there, obeying what the law of Islam lays down. . . .
. . . If the Muslims and Christians there are agreed, the King cannot cope with them. . . .[39]

In 737 the emperor (*qaγan*) converted to Islam,[40] which had already been accepted in several quarters of the Khazar pax (for instance, among the Volga Bulgars) sometime at the beginning of the tenth century.[41] An heir-apparent to the Khazar throne who professed the Islamic religion is mentioned as late as the middle of the tenth century.[42] In 787, the Seventh Ecumenical Council in Nicaea (Niceanum II) proposed the creation of a Gothic metropolitanate as an archdiocese which would embrace the seven bishoprics of the Khazar state.[43] The document referring to this proposal, the so-called De Boor's "Notitia episcopatuum," is valuable in that it lists the seven component parts of Khazaria.[44]

II.

1.

From the time their state took form, the Khazars played a crucial role in the Eurasian political community. As the Turks did before them, the

[39] *Les Prairies d'or*, ed. Ch. Pellat, vol. 1 (Beirut, 1966), p. 213, l. 8, and p. 214, l. 13; Eng. trans. in Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars*, pp. 206–207.
[40] The circumstances are discussed in Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars*, pp. 83–84.
[41] See fn. 22.
[42] Al-Iṣṭakhrī, *Via regnorum*, ed. by M. J. de Goeje, BGA, vol. 1 (Leiden, 1870), p. 224; Eng. trans. in Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars*, pp. 97–98.
[43] Vasiliev, *Goths in the Crimea*, p. 97.
[44] See de Boor, "Nachträge zu den Notitiae episcopatuum," pp. 531, 533–34. Cf. Vasiliev, *Goths in the Crimea*, pp. 97–101.

Khazars usually allied with the Byzantine emperor against the Arabs, although they often coveted the Byzantine "climes" on the Crimea. The first hundred years of their history was essentially a fierce struggle with the Arabs for Azerbaidjan and for control of the trade routes leading to Iran.

Contacts between Byzantium and the Khazar state must have been well established, for the Khazar and Byzantine dynasties intermarried. Justinian II (ruled 685–711) married Theodora, a sister of the Khazar emperor, in 698. Constantine V (741–775) married the Khazar princess Tzitzak, baptized Irene, in 733; their son became Emperor Leo IV the Khazar (775–780). Some Byzantine spiritual leaders and prolific writers were also of Khazar origin, for instance, Photius, patriarch of Constantinople (858–867, 877–886). Despite these direct ties, no Byzantine author, not even the historian Theophanes (d. 818) or the learned emperor Constantine VII Porhyrogenitus (913–959), made any mention of the conversion of the Khazar Kingdom to Judaism.

The first Muslim writers to mention that the Khazar ruler professed the Jewish faith date to the early tenth century — Ibn Rūste, ca. 912, and Ibn al-Faqīh, who wrote after 903.

2.

As far as we know, the contemporary centers of Judaism in Palestine, Iraq, and Constantinople failed to record or take note of the Khazar conversion. Even in the first half of the tenth century, both Rabbanite and Karaite sources mention the Khazars only matter-of-factly, without any religious reference or designation.

Sa'adyah Gaon (b. Joseph; b. 882, d. 942), who, although born and raised in Egypt, became the greatest scholar of the gaonic period and leader of Babylonian Jewry, mentioned the Khazars on several occasions. For instance, he explained "Hiram, king of Tyre" as being not a proper name, but a title, "like caliph for the ruler of the Arabs and khaghan for the king of the Khazars."[45] Also, in commenting on a biblical verse (Exodus 19:9), Sa'adyah mentioned a certain Khazar custom which required a man executing royal orders not to tell his king (*melekh*) it was carried out until he received another.[46] In yet another instance, the gaon

[45] Abraham Elija Harkavy, "רב סעדיה גאון על דבר הכוזרים [Rab Sa'adyah Gaon on the Khazars]," *Semitic Studies in Memory of Alexander Kohut* (Berlin, 1897), pp. 244–45. Cf. Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars*, pp. 220–21.

[46] Harkavy, "Rab Sa'adyah Gaon," pp. 244–47. Cf. Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars*, p. 221.

mentioned a certain Isaac b. Abraham as having left Iraq to settle in Khazaria.[47]

Sa'adyah's contemporary, the Karaite historian and jurist Jacob al-Qirqisānī of Iraq (d. ca. 940), in elaborating on Genesis 9:27 in his *Kitāb ar-riyāḍ wa'l-ḥadā'iq* [Book of gardens and parks], had this to say about the Khazars:

> The majority of commentators interpret this pun to mean liveliness and beauty. In their opinion, it means that God had beautified Japheth to the extent that a number of his descendants will enter into the Jewish faith. . . . Now, some other [commentators] are of the opinion that this verse alludes to the Khazars who accepted Judaism. However, others hold that the Persians are here intended. These converted to Judaism in the time of Mordecai, Esther and Ahasuerus even as it is written [Esther 8:17]. "And many among the people of the land became Jews."[48]

In the tenth and eleventh centuries Karaite writers disdained the Khazars as bastards (*mamzēr*). For instance, a passage ascribed to Yepheth b. 'Ali of Basrah (fl. 950–980) explains the term *mamzēr* as "Khazars who became Jews-in-exile."[49] This usage reflects the fact that the Karaites distinguished sharply between two kinds of converts to Judaism: those who converted before Nebuchadnezzar II's conquest of Jerusalem (587 B.C.) were regarded as full-fledged, honorable members of the congregation; those who converted after the Jews had been dispersed, however, were of doubtful status, at best. The latter category, of so-called bastards, had in the past included Amonites, Moabites, and others.[50]

Although a popular Hebrew historical work written in Italy in the mid-tenth century, the so-called *Sēpher Josippon,* mentions the Khazars, it fails to note their adherence to Judaism.[51] In the nineteenth century,

47 Harkavy, "Rab Sa'adyah Gaon," p. 245. Cf. Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars,* p. 221.

48 Maximilian Landau edited the passage in question in "מעמדה הנוכחי של בעית הכוזרים [The present-day status of the Khazar problem]," *Zion* (Jerusalem), 8 (1943): 96. A translation was published by Zvi Ankori, *Karaites in Byzantium: The Formative Years, 970–1100* (New York and Jerusalem, 1959), pp. 67–68.

49 See A. Harkavy, "Karäische Deutung des Wortes ממזר," *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* (Krotoschin), 31 (1882): 171; Harkavy, "Rab Sa'adayah Gaon," pp. 246–47; Ankori, *Karaites in Byzantium,* pp. 71–74. However, Yepheth's commentary on the Book of Jeremiah (Jer. 50: 21, 25), has a messianic passage which mentions the "King of Israel"; the simultaneous reference to *Bāb al-Abwāb* (Derbend) suggests that it is the judaized king of the Khazars who is being referred to. The commentary was published by A. Harkavy, "Rus' i russkie v srednevekovoj evrejskoj literature," *Voskhod* (St. Petersburg), 2 (1882): 239–51; cf. Ankori, *Karaites in Byzantium,* pp. 77–78.

50 Ankori, *Karaites in Byzantium,* pp. 72–73.

51 A. Harkavy, ed., "Skazanija evrejskix pisatelej o Xazarax i xazarskom carstve,"

Karaite scholars, especially Abraham Firkovič (b. 1785, d. 1874),[52] created a myth about the Karaite origin of the Khazars — a far cry from the attitude of Karaites of the tenth and eleventh centuries, who would, no doubt, have decried any such ancestry.

3.

Modern Rabbinical scholarship continues to idealize the Khazars and their conversion.[53] This stance is due largely to Judah Halevi (b. 1075, d. 1141), who was first to view the Khazar conversion as a central event in Jewish history.

Halevi, undoubtedly the foremost Jewish poet and thinker of the Middle Ages, was born and raised in Andalusian Toledo (or Tudela) while the city was still Muslim but had a vital Jewish religious community and intellectual life. After a happy *Wanderjahre*, the young Jew returned to now Christian Toledo during the *reconquista*, when one Jewish community after another was being destroyed. His "Kitāb al-ḥuǧǧa wa'd-dalīl fi naṣr ad-dīn aḏ-ḏalīl" [Book of argument and proof in defense of the despised faith], known more commonly as the "Kuzari," was written in Arabic (ca. 1120–40), in the style of a Platonic dialogue.[54] The work

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Trudy Vostočnogo otdelenija (St. Petersburg), 17 (1874): 298, 300 (text), 301 (Russ. trans.): תוגרמה הם עשר משפחות מהם כוזר ופצינך ואליקנוס ובולגר ורגבינא וטורקי ובוז וזכוך ואונגרי וטילמץ. כל אלה חונים בצפון ושמות ארצותם על שמותם והם חונים על נהרי היתל הוא אטל אך אונגר ובולגר ופוצינך חונים על הנהר הגדול הנקרא דנובי. "Togarma [comprises] ten tribes, which are the Khozar, Paṣīnakh, 'Alīqanūs (= Uluči), Būlgar, Ragbīnā (?), Tūrqī, *Khūz [*Bwz*; = Oγuz], Zikhūs, 'Ūngarī, and Tīlmaṣ. They all live in the north, and their lands are named after them. They live along the river Hiṭl, that is *'Atl* [Volga], but the 'Ūngarī, Būlgar and Pūsinakh [*sic*] live along the great river called Danūbī [Danube]." Cf. the Arabic translation of Josippon: "Togarma [comprises] ten tribes. They are the al-Khazar, al-Bağanāq, al-Ās-Alān, al-Bulġar . . . Khyabar, Unğar, Ṭalmīs. . . . They all live in the northern section, and their places are named after them. Some of them live along the river Aṭīl. But the al-Bulġar, al-Bağanāq and Unğar live between the mountains of Danūbīn, i.e., Dunā [Danube]." Harkavy, "Skazanija evrejskix pisatelej," pp. 333–34.

52 Concerning A. S. Firkovič, see Ananiasz Zajączkowski, *Karaims in Poland: History, Language, Folklore, Science* (Warsaw, The Hague, and Paris, 1961), pp. 84–88. See also Ankori, *Karaites in Byzantium*, pp. 58–65.

53 See Bernard D. Weinryb, "The Beginnings of East-European Jewry in Legend and Historiography," in *Studies and Essays in Honor of Abraham A. Neuman* (Leiden, 1962), pp. 445–502.

54 The work was translated into Hebrew in the middle of the twelfth century by Judah b. Tibbon under the title "Sēpher ha-hokhaḥah we-ha re'ayah le-hagganat ha-dat ha-bezuyah"; this translation and the original text are commonly known as "Sēpher ha-Khuzari" or the "Kuzari." A critical edition of the Arabic original (based on the Unicum Codex Bodleiana Hebraica, no. 284) and of Ibn Tibbon's translation (based on the Codex Parisiensis, no. 677) was published by Hartwig Hirschfeld, *Das Buch*

was not only a Jewish response to the challenge of Aristotelian philosophy, but also an original and, some scholars say, valid conceptualization of Judaism which argued for its religious superiority. Writing during the revival of Jewish Messianism and apocalyptic hopes, Halevi made the proselytic Khazar king the central hero of his dialogue, and thus elevated the Khazar conversion from a marginal happening in Jewish history to a major event.

The following two passages in the "Kuzari" are relevant to our discussion:

(1) I was asked to state what arguments and replies I could bring to bear against the attacks of philosophers and followers of other religions, and also against [Jewish] sectarians who attacked the rest of Israel. This reminded me of something I had once heard concerning the arguments of a Rabbi who sojourned with the king of the Khazars. The latter, as we know from historical records, became a convert to Judaism about four hundred years ago. To him came a dream, and it appeared as if an angel addressed him saying: "Thy way of thinking is indeed pleasing to the Creator, but not thy way of acting." Yet he was so zealous in the performance of the Khazar religion, that he devoted himself with a perfect heart to the service of the temple and sacrifices. Notwithstanding this devotion, the angel came again at night and repeated: "Thy way of thinking is pleasing to God, but not thy way of acting." This caused him to ponder over the different beliefs and religions and finally [he] became a convert to Judaism together with many other Khazars.[55]

(2) After this the Khazari, as it is related in the history of the Khazars, was anxious to reveal to his vezier in the mountains of Warsān (ורסאן) the secret of his dream and its repetition, in which he was urged to seek the God-pleasing deed. The king and his vezier travelled to the deserted mountains on the seashore, and arrived one night at the cave in which some Jews used to celebrate the Sabbath. They disclosed their identity to them, embraced their religion, were circumcised in the cave, and then returned to their country, eager to learn the Jewish law. They kept their conversion secret, however, until they found an opportunity of disclosing the fact gradually to a few of their special friends. When the number had increased, they made the affair public, and induced the rest of the Khazars to embrace the Jewish faith. They sent to various countries for scholars and books, and studied the Torah. Their chronicles also tell of their prosperity, how they beat

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al-Chazarî des Abû-l-Ḥasan Jehuda Hallewi im Arabischen Urtext sowie in der Hebräischen Übersetzung des Jehuda ibn Tibbon (Leipzig, 1887). Hirschfeld translated the "Kuzari" into German as *Das Buch al-Chazarî: Aus dem Arabischen des Abu-l-Ḥasan Jehuda Hallewi* (Breslau, 1885). The first edition of the English translation by Hirschfeld was published in 1905. The most recent edition, with an introduction by Henry Slonimsky, appeared in 1964: *Judah Halevi — The Kuzari (Kitab al Khazari): An Argument for the Faith of Israel* (New York, 1964).

[55] Edited by H. Hirschfeld, p. 3 (Hebrew trans.; the Arabic original of the page is lost) = p. 35 (Eng. trans. by H. Hirschfeld, 1964).

their foes, conquered their lands, secured great treasures; but their army swelled to hundreds of thousands, how they loved their faith, and fostered such love for the Holy House that they erected a Tabernacle in the shape of that built by Moses. . . .[56]

III.

1.

Why did the Khazars' conversion to Judaism go unmentioned not only in contemporary Jewish literature, but also in the Byzantine and Muslim literatures, which were then more highly developed and have been well preserved? The silence is especially puzzling because the Byzantine and Muslim states had strong contacts, whether friendly or hostile, with the Khazar realm, then ranking with the Frank, Byzantine, and Muslim Arab as a great power, and they must have been interested in the Khazars' activities. Let us look into this strange lack of interest in an event that would seem to be of contemporary importance.

2.

St. Constantine, later apostle of the Slavs, undertook a mission to the court of the Khazar emperor sometime in the mid-ninth century. There, as late as 860, he gave a disputation on religion and practiced baptism, but said nothing about the exclusiveness of the Jewish religion in Khazaria.[57] The earliest mention of the Khazars' conversion to Judaism was by Druthmar of Aquitaine, a Frankish Benedictine monk at the Corvey monastery in Westphalia. The reference occurs in Druthmar's commentary on Matthew 24:14, written in 864. It reads:

> At the present time we know of no nation (*gens*) in the world where Christians do not live. For in the lands of Gog and Magog who are a Hunnish race (*gentes*) and call themselves Gazari there is one tribe, a very belligerent one — Alexander enclosed them and they escaped — and all of them profess the Jewish faith. The Bulgars, however, who are of the same race, recently became Christians.[58]

56 Edited by H. Hirschfeld, p. 67 (Arabic text) = p. 68 (Hebrew trans.) = p. 82 (Eng. trans., by H. Hirschfeld).

57 Concerning St. Constantine's mission, see Francis Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs: SS. Constantine-Cyril and Methodius* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1970), pp. 49–72; F. Dvornik, *Les légendes de Constantin et de Méthode, vues de Byzance* (Prague, 1933), pp. 148–211. About the mission of the Georgian saint Abo (d. 786), see Paul Peeters, "Les Khazars dans la passion de S. Abo de Tiflis," *Analecta Bollandiana* (Brussels), 52 (1934): 21–56.

58 "Nescimus iam gentem sub caelo in qua Christiani non habeantur. Nam et in Gog et Magog, quae sunt gentes Hunorum, quae ab eis Gazari vocantur, iam una gens quae

Because Druthmar's testimony is unchallenged, we can assume that the Khazar conversion must have occurred before 864 A.D., the date when his observations were written.

3.

Apart from Halevi's "Kuzari," there are three other non-contemporary accounts of the Khazar conversion. They are best characterized as epic narratives. Two have come down to us in Hebrew, and the third in Arabic.

The two Hebrew stories must have been written by the beginning of the twelfth century, because Jehudah b. Barzillai al-Bargeloni (an-Nasi), rabbi of Barcelona ca. 1090 to 1105, refers to them in his "Sēpher ha-'ittīm," a work dealing with the Sabbath and festivals on the Jewish calendar.[59]

One of the Hebrew stories appears in the so-called Khazar correspondence that comprises the letter of Ḥasdai b. Shaprut (b. ca. 915, d. 970) to the Khazars' King Joseph and two versions of Joseph's reply. The authenticity of the correspondence, which continues to be controversial, is irrelevant here, because the conversion story is taken as an epic narrative, not an official contemporary account. According to the first, short version of King Joseph's reply, the conversion occurred thus:[60]

(1) An angel appeared to him in a dream and said: "Oh, Bol[č]ān![61] The Lord sent me to tell you: I heard your prayer and your petition. And so, I shall bless you and multiply you, extend your kingdom to the end of ages and hand all your enemies over to you. Now rise and pray to the Lord." He did thus, and the angel appeared to him a second time, saying: "I saw your behavior and approved your actions. I

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fortior erat ex his quas Alexander conduxerat, circumcisa est, et omnem Judaismum observat. Bulgarii quoque, qui et ipsi ex ipsis gentibus sunt, cottidie baptisantur," *Maxima bibliotheca veterum patrum Lugdun.* (Leiden), 15 (1677): 158 = J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus,* Series Latina, vol. 106 (Paris, 1864), col. 1456.

59 Kokovcov, *Evrejsko-xazarskaja perepiska,* pp. 127–28 (Russ. trans., pp. 128–31).

60 Insofar as this story is concerned, there are no real differences between the two versions.

61 *Bolān* (scholars normally use the incorrect spelling B*u*lan) is a tribal designation (eponym), rather than a proper name. The form with *l* (Bo*l*ān) is Turkic whereas the form with *lč* (Bo*lč*ān) is Huno-Khazarian. Concerning this phenomenon (in Altaic linguistics called "lambdacism"), see O. Pritsak, "'Der Rhotazismus' und 'Lambdazismus,'" *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* 35 D (1964): 337–49. The Huno-Khazarian form survived in the "Ta'rīh al-Bāb wa Šarwān," V. Minorsky, ed., *A History of Sharvān and Darband* (Cambridge, 1958), p. 17: "In the year 288 the Khazars with their king (*malik*) *K.s'* b. Bolčān (*blǧ'n*) al-Khazarī came to attack Bāb al-Abwāb (Derbend) in the month of Rağab [August 901]. Muḥammad b. Hāšim with the ġāzī's of al-Bāb (= Darband) fought them, beat them off and defeated them with the help of the Almighty" (p. 42).

know that you will follow me with your whole heart. I want to give you the commandments, the law and the rules; and, if you observe my commandments, laws and rules, I shall bless you and multiply you." He answered and said to the angel: "My master, you know the intentions of my heart and you have inquired into my innermost self, and you know that I have placed my hope only in you. But the people, over whom I reign, are unbelievers. I do not know whether or not they will believe me. If I have found favor in your eyes and your mercy has come down on me, appear to so-and-so, their chief prince [i.e., *qaγan*], and he will help me in this task." The All-Holy — may he be blessed — granted his request and appeared to that prince in a dream. When he awoke in the morning, he went and told the king about it. Then the king assembled all his princes, his slaves, and all his people and told them all this. They endorsed it, and accepted [the new] faith, thus coming under the protection of Shekhina ["the presence of God"]. And the angel again appeared to him and said: "The heavens and the heavens of the heavens cannot contain me, but you should [still] build a synagogue in my name." He answered, saying: "Lord of the world, I am very ashamed that I have no silver and gold to erect it properly, as I would like." He [the angel] answered him: "Have strength and be manly! Take all your armies with you and go in the direction of Dar-i Alān [the Darial Pass] and Ard[ab]il [located in Azerbaidjan]. I shall place in their hearts fear and terror before you and hand them over into your hands. I prepared two storehouses for you; one of silver and one of gold. I shall be with you and I shall protect you [everywhere], wherever you go. You shall take [that] booty [i.e., goods], return with success, and build a synagogue, in my name." He believed him and did as he had been commanded. He fought, laid a curse on the town and returned safely. [Then] he blessed [the acquired] goods and from them constructed: tents, an ark, a candlestick, a table, a sacrificial altar, and priestly sacred vessels. Until the present day, these have remained whole and in my keeping.[62]

(2) After this his fame spread widely. The King of Edom [Byzantium] and the King of the Ishmaelites [Muslims] had heard of him and they sent to him their envoys with great riches and many presents, as well as some of their wise men with the plan to convert him to their own religion. But the king was wise, sent for a learned Israelite, searched, inquired and investigated carefully. Then he brought the sages together so that they might argue about their respective religions. Each of them refuted, however, the arguments of his opponent, so that they could not agree. When the king saw this he said to them: "Go home, on the third day I shall send for you and you will come to me." On the second day the king sent for the [Christian] priest and said to him: "I know that the King of Edom is greater than the other kings, and that his faith is respectable. I already have liking as to your religion. But I am asking you to tell the truth: if one takes the Israelite religion and the religion of the Ishmaelites, which of them is better?" The priest answered him and said: "May our Lord the King live long! Know the truth, that there is in all the world no religion resembling the Israelite religion, since the All-Holy, bless him, chose Israel from all the nations. . . ." The king answered him: "Now you have told

62 Kokovcov, *Evrejsko-xazarskaja perepiska*, p. 21, l. 5, and p. 22, l. 6 (Russ. trans., pp. 75–77).

me. Truly, know that I will show you my respect." The second day the king sent for al-Qāḍī of the Ishmaelites, asked him and said: "Tell me the truth: what is the difference between the religion of Israel and the religion of Edom, which religion is better?" Al-Qāḍī answered him and said: "The religion of Israel is better, and it is all the truth. . . ."

On the third day he [the king] called all of them together and said to them in the presence of all his princes and slaves and his people: "I wish that you make for me the choice, which religion is the best and the truest." They began to dispute with one another without arriving to any result until the king asked the priest: "If one compares the Israelite religion with that of the Ishmaelites, which is to be preferred?" The priest answered and said: "The religion of the Israelites is better." Now he [the king] asked al-Qāḍī and said: "If one compares the Israelite religion with that of the Edom which is to be preferred?" Al-Qāḍī answered him and said: "The religion of the Israelites is better."

Upon this the king said, "Both of you admitted with your own lips that the religion of the Israelites is the best and truest. Therefore I have chosen the religion of the Israelites, that is, the religion of Abraham. . . . He can give me without labor silver and gold which you had promised me. Now go, all of you, in peace to your land."

From that time on the Almighty God helped him and strengthened him. He and his slaves circumcised themselves and he sent for and brought wise men of Israel who interpreted the Torah for him and arranged the precepts in order. . . .[63]

(3) After those days there arose from the sons of his [Bolčān's] sons a king, 'Obadiah by name. He was an upright and just man. He reorganized the kingdom and established the [Israelite] religion properly and correctly. He built synagogues and schools, brought in many Israelite sages, honored them with silver and gold, and they explained to him the Twenty-four Books [the Bible], Mishnah, Talmud, and the order of prayers [established by] the Khazzans. He was a man who feared God and loved the law and the commandments.

After him his son Hezekiah became king, and after him, his son Manasseh. . . .[64]

The main elements that emerge from the story are these:

(1) The convert was an officer elevated to the rank of king but not emperor.

(2) There were two stages in the conversion.

(3) The first, or Bol[č]ān, stage was connected with the Khazar victory over the Arabs and their advance as far as Ardabil in Azerbaidjan, which, according to Arab sources, took place in A.H. 112/A.D. 730–731.[65] This chronology agrees with Halevi's statement in the "Kuzari," written ca.

[63] Kokovcov, *Evrejsko-xazarskaja perepiska,* p. 22, ll. 6–23, 15 (Russ. trans., pp. 77–80).

[64] Kokovcov, *Evrejsko-xazarskaja perepiska,* p. 23, l. 18, and p. 24, l. 4 (Russ. trans., p. 80).

[65] For sources and details, see Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars,* pp. 68–77, 148.

1130–1140, that the Khazar king became a convert "about four hundred years ago." But this was a private conversion of the majordomo (= Bol[č]ān), which, possibly, was preceded by the kind of religious dispute that occurred before other royal conversions (cf. the conversion to Christianity of Prince Volodimer of Rus' in 988).[66]

4.

The other of the two Hebrew stories about the conversion survived in a Geniza fragment which is now in Cambridge, England. The fragment has recently been analyzed by Norman Golb, whose translation of the relevant passage reads as follows:[67]

> Armenia, and [our] fathers fled before them. . . . for they were un[ab]le to bear the yoke of idol-worshippers. [The people of Khazari]a received them. For the pe[ople] of Khazaria were at first without Torah, while [their neighbor Armenia] remained without Torah and writing. They intermarried with the inhabitants of the land, in[termingled with the gent]iles, learned their practices, and would continually go out with them to w[ar]; [and] they became one people. However, they were confirmed only in the covenant of circumcision; only a port[ion of them were] observing the Sabbath. There was [at the time] no king in the land of Khazaria; but rather whoever would achieve victories in war would they appoint over themselves as general of the army. [Thus was it] until the Jews once went out with them to do battle as was their wont. On that day a certain Jew prevailed with his sword and put to flight the enemies come against Khazaria. So the men of Khazar appointed him over them as chief officer of the army according to their ancient custom. They remained in this state of affairs for many days, until the Lord took mercy and stirred the heart of the chief officer to repent; for his wife, whose name was Seraḥ, influenced him and taught him to [his] benefit; and he too agreed, since he was circumcised. Moreover, the father of the young woman, a man righteous in that generation, showed him the way of life.
>
> Now it happened that when the kings of Macedon [= Byzantines] and the kings of Arabia heard these things, they became very angry, and sent messengers to the officers of Khazaria [with] words of scorn against Israel: "How is it that you return to the faith of the Jews, who are subjugated under the power of all nations?" They said things which are not for us to relate, and influenced the hearts of the officers adversely. Then the great officer, the Jew, said, "Why should we multiply words? Let there come [here] some sages of Israel, some sages of Greece, and some sages of Arabia; and let them tell, each one of them, before us and before you, the deed of [his] Lord [from beginning to] end." They did so; [M]ace[do]n sent some [of its sages, and also] the kings of Arabia; and the sages of Israel volun-

66 Ca. between A.D. 799 and 809. See also A. N. Poliak, "התגיירות הכוזרים [The adoption of Judaism by the Khazars]," *Zion* 6 (1941–42): 106–112, 160–80.

67 A critical apparatus and commentary by Professor Golb will be published with the translation in our joint *Khazarian Hebrew Documents.*

teered to come [in accord with the request of] the officers of Khazaria. Now the Greeks began to give testimony about Him[?] f[irst, and] the Jews and the Arabs began to rebut him [*sic*]. Afterwards [began the Ara]bs, and the Jews and the Greeks rebutted them. And afterwards began [the sages of Isra]el from the six days of creation until the day when the children of Israel came up [from] Egypt and they came to an inhabited land. The Greeks and the Arabs bore witness to the truth and declared them right; but there also occurred a disagreement between them. The officers of Khazaria said, "There is a cave in the valley of TYZWL; bring forth to us the books which are there and expound them before us." They did so. They went into the midst of the cave: behold, books of the Torah of Moses were there, and the sages of Israel explained them according to the previous words which they had spoken. Then Israel with the people of Khazaria repented completely. The Jews began to come from Baghdad and from Khorasan and from the land of Greece and strengthened the men of the land, and [the latter] held fast to the covenant of the "Father of a Multitude." The men of the land appointed over them one of the sages as judge. They call him in the language of Khazar[ia] KGN. Therefore, the title of the judges who arose after him has been KGN until this day. They changed the name of the great officer of Khazaria to Sabriel, and made him king over them.

The importance of the Geniza fragment lies in the fact that it is an indigenously Jewish account, rather than a proselytic one, of the conversion and religious disputation. Nonetheless, the accounts given in the fragment and in King Joseph's reply generally agree, and both refer to a first stage in the Judaization of the Khazar kings. In the Jewish accounts, however, the "Bol[č]ān" of King Joseph's reply is styled as "Sabriel."[68]

5.

Al-Mas'ūdī, author of a world history written in Arabic ca. 943, devoted the seventeenth chapter of his "Meadows of gold" (*Murūǧ aḍ-Ḍahab*) to a description of the Caucasian peoples. There he singled out the Khazar state:

The inhabitants of this [Khazarian] capital are Muslims, Christians, Jews, and pagans. The Jews are: the king (*al-malik*), his entourage, and the Khazars of his tribe (*ǧins*). The king accepted Judaism during the Caliphate of [Hārūn] ar-Rašīd [786–814]. A number of Jews joined him from other Muslim countries and from the Byzantine Empire.

This was because the emperor, who in our time, i.e., A.H. 332/A.D. 943, is called Armanūs [Romanus I Lecapenus, 920–944] converted the Jews of his country to Christianity by force . . . and a large number of the Jews fled from Rūm [Byzantium] to the Khazar country. . . . This is not the place for giving a report of

[68] Cf. Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars*, p. 158.

the adoption of Judaism by the Khazar king for we have spoken of it in our earlier works.[69]

Unfortunately, the earlier works that al-Mas'ūdī refers to were lost. However, an Arabic geographer of a later period, ad-Dimišqī (fl. A.H. 727/ A.D. 1327), made this reference to the conversion: "Ibn al-Athīr [historian, d. 1232] tells how in the days of Hārūn [ar-Rašīd] the emperor forced the Jews to emigrate. They came to the Khazar country, where they found an intelligent but untutored race, and offered them their religion. The inhabitants [of Khazaria] found it better than their own and accepted it."[70] The eminent German Orientalist, Joseph Markwart (b. 1869, d. 1930), searched the *History* of Ibn al-Athīr in vain for the passage here indicated. He came to the conclusion that it was the work of al-Mas'ūdī, not Ibn al-Athīr, which ad-Dimišqī had meant.[71]

In a geographical work written ca. A.H. 487/A.D. 1094, the Muslim Spaniard al-Bakrī included an account which some scholars believe to be a partial reproduction of Mas'ūdī's lost story. The passage reads:

The reason for the conversion of the king (*al-malik*) of the Khazars, who had previously been a heathen, to Judaism was as follows. He had adopted Christianity. Then he recognized the wrongness of his belief and began to speak with one of his governors about the concern with which he was filled. The other said to him: "Oh King, the People of the Book (*ahl al-kitāb*) form three classes. Invite them and inquire of them, then follow whichever is in possession of the truth." So he sent to the Christians for a bishop. Now there was with him a Jew, skilled in debate, who disputed with the bishop, asking him: "What do you say about Moses, son of Amram, and the Torah which was revealed to him?" The other replied: "Moses is a prophet, and the Torah is true." Then said the Jew to the king: "He has admitted the truth of my creed. Ask him now what he believes." So the king asked him and he replied: "I say that the Messiah, Jesus the son of Mary, is the Word, and that he has made known the mysteries in the name of God." Then the Jew said to the king of the Khazars: "He confesses a doctrine which I know not, while he admits what I set forth." But the bishop was not strong in bringing proofs. So he invited the Muslims and they sent him a learned and intelligent man who understood disputation. But the Jew hired someone against him who poisoned him on the way, so that he died. And the Jew was able to win the king for his religion.[72]

This account of the religious disputation is quite similar to that given in

69 *Murūǧ aḍ-Ḍahab*, ed. by Ch. Pellat, vol. 1, p. 212, l. 9 – p. 213, l. 1 = Eng. trans. in Minorsky, *History of Sharvān and Darband*, p. 146.

70 *Cosmographie*, ed. by A. F. Mehren (St. Petersburg, 1866), p. 263 = Eng. trans. in Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars*, pp. 89–90.

71 Markwart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, p. 3.

72 Edited by Baron V. Rosen in A. Kunik and Baron V. Rosen, *Izvestija al-Bekri i drugix avtorov o Rusi i slavjanax* (St. Petersburg, 1878), p. 44, ll. 1–13; Eng. trans. in Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars*, p. 90.

King Joseph's reply, and it says that the Khazar convert was king (*malik* = *melekh*), rather than emperor (*qaγan*), as do the two Hebrew epic narratives.

6.

Both al-Mas'ūdī and ad-Dimišqī dated the conversion of the Khazar king to the reign of the Abbasid caliph Harūn ar-Rašīd (A.H. 170–178/A.D. 786–809). This seems to be inconsistent with the Jewish tradition preserved in the "Kuzari," which dated the conversion to more than a half century earlier, ca. 730–740. The contradiction is readily resolved, however, if one considers that the Muslim historians most probably understood the Khazar conversion to have occurred with its second stage — i.e., when the Khazar king 'Obadiah accepted the Jewish religion publicly and introduced the corresponding legal reforms — rather than with the first — i.e., when General Bol[č]ān converted privately. This differing view was all the more likely because in 737, at about the time of the conversion's first stage, the supreme Khazar ruler, the emperor (*qaγan*), converted to Islam.[73]

That the emperor remained the supreme ruler and military commander of the Khazar realm until 799 is confirmed by the data of the historian al-Ya'qūbī (d. 892). By 833, however, the emperor was already sharing his power with the beg (= *melekh*). According to Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (ca. 948), Khazar envoys were now being sent to Byzantium not by the emperor alone, but jointly, by both the emperor and the beg (ὁ γὰρ χαγάνος . . . καὶ ὁ πὲχ Χαζαρίας).[74]

Since Harūn ar-Rašīd died in 809, one may assume that the reforms of 'Obadiah, i.e., the official conversion of the beg, took place sometime between 799 and 809.

The major representative of the so-called classical school of Islamic geography, al-Iṣṭakhrī, who worked ca. 930–951, gives an important account of the Khazar realm:

> The Khaghanate is in a group of notables who possess neither sovereignty [after 799] nor riches. When the chief place [the office of emperor] comes to one of them, they appoint him without regard to what his condition is. A reliable witness told me that he had seen in one of their markets a young man selling bread. They said that when their emperor died, there was none worthier to the Khaghanate than he, only he was a Muslim, and the Khaghanate is never [in the tenth century!] given to

[73] See p. 266.

[74] Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, p. 182, l. 27.

any but a Jew. The throne and canopy of gold which they have are never set up for any but the emperor. . . .[75]

Here al-Iṣṭakhrī has brought up an element not mentioned in the Hebrew accounts, namely, the Judaization of the institution of the Khaghanate.

The two earliest Islamic sources which mention Judaism as the religion of the Khazars, written by Ibn al-Faqīh and Ibn Rūste, respectively, date to ca. A.H. 290/A.D. 903. Ibn al-Faqīh owed much of his material to the works of Ibn Khurdāḏbeh, dating ca. 846–885, whereas Ibn Rūste incorporated data from the so-called Khorasanian corpus of information on Eastern Europe and Central Asia, ca. 880–900. According to Ibn Khurdāḏbeh, only the Khazar king (*al-malik*) professed Judaism.[76] The later Khorasanian Codex, however, described a different situation:

They have a king (*malik* = *melekh*) who is called *ixšēδ* [= beg].[77] The supreme king is *Khazar khāqān* [emperor]. He does not enjoy the obedience of the Khazars but has the name, only. The power to command belongs to the *ixšēδ*. . . . Their supreme ruler is a Jew, and likewise the *ixšēδ* and those of the generals and the chief men who follow his way of thinking. The rest of them have a religion like the religion of the Turks [known as the Tengri religion].[78]

This development must have become known after 885, the date of the "second" redaction of Ibn Khurdāḏbeh's work, because the historian, although then also head of Abbasid intelligence, did not yet know that the Khazar emperor was a Jew.

In his *De administrando imperii* of 948, Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus mentioned a Khazar civil war:

The so-called Kābaroi were of the race of the Khazars. Now, it fell out that a secession was made by them to their government [led by the beg] and when a civil war broke out their first government [led by the beg] prevailed, and some of them were slain, but others escaped and came and settled with the Turks [the future Hungarians who were in the service of the khaghan] in the land of the Pechenegs [i.e., modern Ukraine], and they made friends with one another.[79]

Unfortunately, the learned emperor gave no date for this civil war.

75 *Via regnorum*, ed. by de Goeje, p. 224, l. 17 – p. 225, l. 1; Eng. trans. in Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars*, pp. 97–98.

76 The most accurate version of the text is by al-Yāqūt, *Mu'ğam al-buldān*, ed. by Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1867), p. 437, l. 8: *wa-maliku-hum yahūdiyyun* "and their [the Khazars'] king (*malik*) is a Jew."

77 In Ibn Rūste's manuscript the final -δ is dropped: the text has *'yš'* (*Kitāb al-a 'lāq an-nafīsa*, ed. by M. J. de Goeje, BGA, vol. 7 [Leiden, 1892], p. 139, l. 13). Gardīzī's text preserved the final -δ: *'bš'd*, but Arabic *b* is to be corrected into *y*; W. Barthold, ed., in *Akademik V. V. Bartol'd: Sočinenija*, vol. 8 (Moscow, 1973), p. 36, l. 5; see also Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 451.

78 *Ibn Rūste*, ed. by M. J. de Goeje, p. 139, ll. 9–14.

79 Edited by Gyula Moravcsik, p. 174 (Eng. trans., p. 175).

Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj (b. 1871, d. 1942) suggested that it probably occurred between 833 and 843.[80] He argued that by 833 the emperor, although already having a secondary role, still took active part in the Khazar government; by 843, however, he had lost all power, for the Arab caliph now corresponded with only the beg, completely ignoring the emperor. Probably the beg, in order to prevent another civil war, forced the emperor to accept Judaism, and had the law passed that prompted al-Iṣṭakhrī to write "the Khaghanate is never given to any but a Jew." Al-Iṣṭakhrī added, however, that some members of the Khazar dynasty, even the theoretical heir-apparent, still professed the Islamic faith as late as the first half of the tenth century.

* * *

In the eighth to tenth century, two other Turkic peoples converted to religions based on the revelation of divine truth: the Uighurs in Mongolia converted to Manichaeism in 763; and the imperial Turks, or Karakhanids, in Turkestan converted to Islam ca. 900. A perhaps contemporary account by some Manichaean "electi" (*dindarlar*), preserved in an Uighur Turkic translation (possibly dating to the ninth century), attributes the decisive role in the Uighurs' conversion to Central Asian merchants (*sartlar*) having the low rank of Manichaean "hearers" (*niɣošaklar*).[81] The role of merchants is stated more explicitly in the conversion to Islam of the Karakhanid ruler Satuq Buɣra Qaɣan (d. A.H. 344/A.D. 955). Like the Khazar king, he first converted privately and only some time later professed his new religion openly and converted the ruling elite.[82]

Elsewhere, I have argued that the ar-Rāḏāniya, a Jewish trading company based in Provence, directly influenced the official Judaization of the Khazar kings.[83] Here, I emphasize that all three conversions of warrior steppe societies in eighth- to tenth-century Eurasia occurred without professional missionaries or learned theologians sent from the respective religious centers.

Long-distance merchants alone were responsible for the conversions of the Uighurs, imperial Turks, and Khazars. The merchants' regular con-

80 *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* 36 (1965): 390–92.

81 Edited by Willy Bang-Kaup and Annemarie von Gabain in *Türkische Turfan-Texte II* (Berlin, 1929), pp. 3–14.

82 See Omeljan Pritsak, "Von den Karluk zu den Karachaniden," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Wiesbaden), 101 (1951): 290–92; O. Pritsak, "Die Karachaniden," *Der Islam* (Berlin), 31 (1953): 24–25.

83 The problem is discussed in *The Origin of Rus'*, volumes 4 to 6; see also my inaugural lecture, *The Origin of Rus'* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976), pp. 19–20.

tacts made them familiar with these societies and allowed them to act as proselytizers of their respective faiths. The merchants presented their beliefs in a popularized version attractive to people unaccustomed to theological abstractions. Had trained religionists approached the steppe warrior societies, their dogma and ideology would have been totally alien and incomprehensible. It was precisely because they did not, and because the three conversions were achieved by unofficial merchant popularizers, that the events themselves went unrecorded in the respective religious centers of the time.[84]

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84 One answer to the much-disputed question of what happened to the Khazarian Jews after they were conquered by Prince Svjatoslav of Rus' is proposed in my *Origin of Rus'*, volumes 4 to 6.

THE CLANS OF THE CRIMEAN KHANATE, 1466–1532

BEATRICE FORBES MANZ

The Crimean Khanate, founded by Ḥājjī Girey in the early fifteenth century, was ruled by a khan in conjunction with four *karachi* who were the *begs* of the four main clans of the land.[1] This system of government seems to have been instituted first by Uzbek Khan of the Golden Horde. Under him, the council of four clan begs held great power; its signature was required for all important documents, and its agreement for all major undertakings.[2] Scholars analyzing the government of the Crimea or explaining its policies have attributed a like degree of power to the four karachi and to the clans they represented.[3] Agysh, beg of the greatest clan, the Shirin, was able to boast: "Are there not two shafts to a cart? The right shaft is my lord the khan, and the left shaft am I, with my brothers and children."[4] As an expression of the position which tradition assigned to the karachi, this is not too great an exaggeration, and it is to this aspect

[1] The same form of government was found in the Khanates of Astrakhan, Kazan', and Kasimov. An institution so widespread deserves thorough study, but unfortunately there are almost no sources on the history of these three Khanates. Therefore what conclusions we can draw must come almost entirely from the Crimea.

[2] M. G. Safargaliev, *Raspad Zolotoi Ordy*, Uchenye zapiski Mordovskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, vol. 11 (Saransk, 1960), pp. 68–69.

[3] V. E. Syroechkovskii, "Mukhammed-Girai i ego vassaly," *Uchenye zapiski Moskovskogo ordena Lenina gosudarstvennogo universiteta/Istoriia* 61, no. 2: 3–71. A. Bennigsen and C. Lemercier-Quelquejay, "Le Khanat de Crimée au début du XVI^e siècle: De la tradition mongole à la suzereineté ottomane, d'après un document inédit des archives ottomanes," *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* 13; C. Lemercier-Quelquejay, "Les khanats de Kazan et de Crimée face à la Moscovie en 1521, d'après un document inédit des archives du musée du palais de Topkapï," *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* 12; and E. Keenan, "Muscovy and Kazan', 1445–1552: A Study in Steppe Politics" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1965), pp. 82ff.

[4] G. O. Karpov, ed., *Pamiatniki diplomaticheskikh snoshenii moskovskogo gosudarstva s krymskoiu i nagaiskoiu ordami i s Turtsiei*, in *Sbornik Imperatorskogo russkogo istoricheskogo obshchestva* (hereafter *RIO*), vols. 41 and 95 (St. Petersburg, 1884 and 1895), 95: 39–40.

that scholars have devoted their attention. Whether the karachi and their clans in fact wielded such great power in the Crimea is much less certain. This is the question that I shall address here.

This article covers a restricted period, from 1466, when Mengli Girey came to the throne of the Crimea, into the reign of the sixth khan, Sa'ādat Girey (1524–1532).[5] It is this time, as well as the reign of the first khan, Ḥājjī Girey, which is considered the heyday of the Crimean clans; it ended when Sa'ādat Girey, finding the clan begs intractable, set out to weaken them and to introduce a more Ottoman form of government.[6] While the clans may have been at their strongest then, the history of these years suggests that it was only at the beginning of the period that their power was as great as their official status. Although in theory they were the only counterweight to the khan, in fact there were other powerful groups with whom they had to compete for influence. The clans could and sometimes did disagree with the khan, but their attempts to defy him were not successful. During this period, moreover, their power declined steadily until, in the reign of Sa'ādat Girey, it was possible for the khan to carry through an extensive purge of their leaders.

The information for this article is drawn largely from the Crimean diplomatic correspondence with Muscovy, which has been published for the years 1476–1521, and the correspondence with Lithuania, published for 1478–1515.[7] During most of this period, Lithuania and Muscovy were competing for influence in the Crimea. Each state had a number of adherents among the clans and courtiers of the Crimea, people who pleaded its case with the khan and kept it informed of local events. The reports of these men make up part of the correspondence and, with the khan's letters, provide considerable information on the internal workings of the Khanate and the position of the clans within it. This correspondence is the fullest source on the period, since few Crimean letters to the Ottoman Porte have survived from these years. I have not attempted to use narrative histories of the Crimea, which were written in Ottoman at a later date.

5 The transcription of Crimean personal names is a problem because many have come down to us only through Russian sources. Names which are obviously Islamic I have restored to their original form. For all others I have adopted the spelling used in my sources.

6 Syroechkovskii, "Mukhammed-Girai," pp. 59–60.

7 *RIO*, vols. 41 and 95; and K. Pułaski, ed., *Stosunki z Mendli-Girejem*, in *Stosunki Polski z Tatarszczyzną od połowy XV wieku*, vol. 1 (Cracow and Warsaw, 1881) (hereafter *Stosunki*).

I. The Four Main Clans[8]

Much is unknown about the clans of the Crimea, and much may never be known. Their official status and traditional rights are well documented by the diplomatic protocol and the assertions of clan begs writing to Moscow, and the influence of certain people within them can be estimated by their prominence in the correspondence. But the most basic facts about the clans remain obscure. One can only guess at their numbers, and almost no information is available on important aspects of their internal organization. However, even though one can reach few firm conclusions about the size, composition, and organization of the clans, these are questions which should not be ignored.

The four main clans of the Crimea were the Shirin, Barin, Qipchaq, and Arghin.[9] These were joined in the early sixteenth century by some of the Manghits, or Mansurs, a large and powerful clan of the Nogay confederation which quickly became important in the Crimea. As the sources offer much more information on the Shirin than on any of the others, it is primarily through them that one can study the Crimean clans.

About thirty-five people are identified in the sources as Shirins, and these are spread among several generations. Twenty-five can be identified fairly definitely as descendants of Tegene Beg, whose son, Eminek, was the beg of the Shirin during the early reign of Mengli Girey. Four generations of Tegene's descendants appear in the Crimean sources as the leading power within the Shirin.[10] There are about ten Shirin whose ancestry cannot be traced to Tegene, and who may therefore be beyond the range of third cousins. Some pairs of brothers are among them, but no lineages can be distinguished.[11] The small number of people mentioned is striking, since the Shirin had been in the Crimea from the time of the Mongolian conquest,[12] and they must have been a large group by this

[8] The word *clan* seems clearly the most appropriate one for the groups of people I am discussing. The sources mention few people with clan names, and most of those mentioned in each clan are clearly related.

[9] There is some disagreement about which of the Crimean clans were the chief ones. The Shirin and the Barin are always included, but in place of the last two one sometimes finds the Manghit and Sedjeut. I have chosen the four above as those most often mentioned together in the early treaties. (See Syroechkovskii, "Mukhammed-Girai," p. 29, and *RIO,* 95: 20, 51, 156, 211.)

[10] See the appendix, p. 308, for a family tree.

[11] Bakshibek and Kudoiar, brothers, Chibelek and his father Bostai, Kazy Mansur, Ideshka and Satylgan, sons of Karach, Khoziai Mirza, Chamak, son of Iunus Beg, 'Umar, son of Mavkin. *RIO,* vols. 41 and 95, passim.

[12] Safargaliev, *Raspad,* p. 94.

time. It is clear that authority was reserved for a small set of closely related people.

Although rather few Shirin are mentioned, the clan seems to have had authority over a large number of people. The Shirin beg Agysh, karachi from 1508 to about 1523, claimed that he could put twenty thousand men into the field.[13] On this occasion Agysh called his followers "brothers," but there are indications that the Shirin controlled people not related to them; there are references to "servants," both as messengers and as soldiers, including one "servant of the Shirin."[14] The relation between the followers and their masters remains unclear. The patent Dawlat Girey granted to the Arghin beg in 1551, confirming him in his ancestral holdings, gave the beg the right to control people and territory and to collect taxes. The *yarlyk* mentions agricultural lands, summer and winter pasture, and permanent settlements.[15] This suggests a territory of mixed population, including both nomads from whom the Arghin might raise their troops and settled agriculturalists.

Other sources, however, indicate a rather more complicated system and a greater separation between the clan and its subjects. We know that the central part of the Shirin territory lay between Kaffa and the city of Staryi Krym, which they controlled.[16] This land was almost certainly agricultural; a yarlyk of the fourteenth century recorded the granting of farm land in that area, and the ambassador Marcin Broniewski, who visited the Crimea in 1578, described the district's fields and vineyards.[17] Nor is it likely that farming in this region suffered a decline between these two periods, for the Ottoman records on Kaffa show that large quantities of agricultural products were exported from the Tatar regions of the Crimea in the early sixteenth century.[18] It is possible that at this time the Shirin also controlled the steppes of the Kerch peninsula, as they did later, but that territory was definitely not the seat of their begs.[19] Broniewski, moreover, stated that the Tatar aristocracy lived not on the steppes, but in

13 *RIO*, 95: 649–50.
14 *RIO*, 41: 147; *RIO*, 95: 173.
15 F. Lashkov, "Sbornik dokumentov po istorii krymsko-tatarskogo zemlevladeniia," *Izvestiia Tavricheskoi uchenoi arkhivnoi kommissii*, vols. 22–25; vol. 23, doc. 56, p. 126.
16 Syroechkovskii, "Mukhammed-Girai," pp. 27, 30.
17 Syroechkovskii, "Mukhammed-Girai," p. 9, "Opisanie Kryma 'Tatariae descriptio' Martyna Bronevskogo," *Zapiski Odesskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnostei* 6: 347, 351.
18 M. Berindei and G. Veinstein, "Règlements de Süleimān I[er] concernant le livā de Kefe," *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* 16: 62.
19 Syroechkovskii, "Mukhammed-Girai," p. 30.

the woods and vineyards, where their agricultural work was done by Greeks and prisoners of war. The common Tatars lived on the steppe and were all slaves and servants of the khan or nobles, whose herds they tended.[20] Further evidence of this system appears in a yarlyk of Muḥammad Girey II (1577–1584) given to the scion of a line of *shaykhs,* who from the time of Ḥājjī Girey had controlled thirty-two nomadic *auls.*[21] The evidence given here is too slight to support definite conclusions. It seems that there was considerable distance, even geographically, between the clan leaders and their following, but without much more research the details of their relationship cannot be known.

Unlike their internal organization, the clans' official status is well described in the sources. The four karachi confirmed the khan in his office, just as the khan confirmed them in theirs.[22] It is clear that the oaths of the karachi were required on treaties with foreign powers, along with those of numerous other people: the khan's brothers and sons, religious leaders, the khan's close advisors, and other prominent clan members.[23] Members of the main clans, particularly the Shirin, were in some demand as ambassadors and hostages; Lithuania often requested ambassadors from the Shirin, and once asked for the begs of both the Shirin and the Barin.[24] The Qipchaq and the Arghin were less sought after, as these clans were considered less important, and their karachi ranked below those of the Shirin and the Barin.[25] We know that the Shirin, at least, had the right to collect a special tax, since part of the transit tax at Perekop went to them.[26] All the clans had certain ancestral rights, which included the freedom to switch allegiance.[27] The Shirin and the Manghit, furthermore, often intermarried with the Girey dynasty.[28]

To determine whether the clans actually had all the power to which their status entitled them, one must assess the influence of the individuals within them. The begs of both the Shirin and the Manghit were clearly powerful figures within the Khanate, as were some other members of their

20 "Opisanie Kryma," p. 357.
21 "Krymskie khanskie iarlyki," *Zapiski Odesskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnostei* 2: 679.
22 *RIO,* 95: 313.
23 Syroechkovskii, "Mukhammed-Girai," p. 40; *Stosunki,* p. 315; *RIO,* 95: 20, 211.
24 *Stosunki,* pp. 222, 234, 267, 384; *RIO,* 95: 613; Lemercier-Quelquejay, "Les khanats," p. 486.
25 *Stosunki,* p. 228.
26 *RIO,* 41: 312.
27 *RIO,* 95: 51.
28 *RIO,* 95: 40, 401; *RIO,* 41: 59, 274.

clans. When the Lithuanians and the Russians wrote to the khan, they included letters to these men and their replies were returned with the khan's. The Shirin and the Manghit begs were present at audiences with foreign ambassadors, and they were often asked to influence the khan in favor of Moscow or Lithuania.[29] The members of the Barin clan were much less prominent; there is little mention of anyone but the karachi, and even they were not as consistently powerful as the karachi of the Shirin and the Manghit. The Barin karachi under Mengli Girey, Kazy Barin, karachi from 1477 to ca. 1501, is hardly mentioned in the sources, and his name is often not on the lists of those sending or receiving messages.[30] Kazy Barin's successor, Dawlat Bakhty, karachi from about 1501 to 1526, was much more conspicuous. He is mentioned as having been at ambassadors' receptions and on campaigns and as belonging to the party favoring Lithuania.[31] Yet there were many people in the Crimea who played a more important part in government affairs. For instance, although Dawlat Bakhty was an active member of the Lithuanian party, he was not considered the most prominent. The leader of the party was not a clan beg at all, but a man of unknown clan, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.[32] The karachi of the Qipchaq and the Arghin played a much smaller part in Crimean affairs than did those of the more powerful clans; in the correspondence their names rarely occur outside the text or the negotiation of treaties, and their public functions cannot be determined.[33]

The Crimean clans, then, were not all equally powerful. The Shirin were much the strongest, and the Manghit, after entering the Crimea, quickly became the second strongest.[34] The number of people from each clan mentioned in the correspondence illustrates the difference in power.

29 See, for example, *RIO*, 41: 40; *RIO*, 95: 39–40, 81, 172, 185, 252, 280, 330, 357, 371, 500.

30 *RIO*, 41: 67–68, 102–104, 120, 143–45, 203, 311–12, 341–42, 464–65.

31 *RIO*, 95: 70, 173, 280, 361, 396.

32 *RIO*, 95: 204, 361; *Stosunki*, p. 382; Syroechkovskii, "Mukhammed-Girai," p. 52.

33 *RIO*, vols. 41 and 95, passim; and Syroechkovskii, "Mukhammed-Girai," passim.

34 When considering the size and power of the Crimean clans one should note that they were branches of larger clans, scattered among a number of Khanates and still to some extent allied. (Syroechkovskii, "Mukhammed-Girai," p. 29.) Outside connections were particularly important to the Manghit, who began migrating into the Crimea after the destruction of the main horde in 1502. The Manghit held preeminent places in both the Noghay confederation and the Kazan' Khanate, and they had longstanding diplomatic and marriage relations with the Girey dynasty. (Syroechkovskii, "Mukhammed-Girai," pp. 32–34.) This helps to explain their quick rise in the Crimea. Azika Beg Manghit, for instance, was taken into the Crimea in 1504, against the khan's will, and by 1509 was a powerful beg, occasionally mentioned even before the beg of the Shirin. *RIO*, 41: 520; *RIO*, 95: 70, 172; *Stosunki*, p. 434.

Whereas about thirty-five Shirins and sixteen Manghits are mentioned, the Barin, the Qipchaq, and the Arghin can claim only three to six people each. These numbers are strikingly low, and the impression they give is confirmed by the dearth of information about these clans. The Barin clan is occasionally mentioned with the Shirin; the others, although listed together on ritual occasions such as the ratification of treaties, and on one particularly large campaign, are almost never mentioned individually.[35] It seems likely that their privileged status reflected past glory, rather than their importance at the time we are concerned with. When discussing the Crimean clans, therefore, I shall concentrate on the most powerful ones, the Shirin in particular and to a lesser extent the Manghit and the Barin. The other clans apparently did not play a significant role in the Crimea; in any case, information about them is too scarce to permit an analysis of their position.

II. The Position of the Clans

At the beginning of the period under discussion, the clans, especially the Shirin, were a great power in the Crimea. The events that illustrate their strength, however, are the very ones that precipitated their decline. There is scant information available on the clans during Ḥājjī Girey's lifetime. After his death the Crimean throne alternated between his two sons, Nūr Dawlat and Mengli Girey, changing largely at the will of the Shirin begs, first Mamak and then Eminek.[36] It seems likely that the beg of the Shirin was the most powerful man in the Crimea at the time, his authority strengthened by his position as *tudun* of Kaffa.[37] The tudun, who was the representative of the Tatars of Kaffa and its surroundings, had considerable power and income. He was appointed jointly by the notables of Kaffa and the khan; at this time candidates were apparently chosen from the Shirin. Eminek succeeded his older brother Mamak as tudun in 1474, but he did not hold the office long, partly because of the machinations of Mamak's widow, who wanted it for her son. At her instigation Eminek was dismissed on the charge of collusion with the Ottomans. This proved unwise; Eminek won most of the Tatars to his side and attacked Mengli Girey, who, unable to hold out against him, took refuge in Kaffa. Eminek

[35] *RIO,* 95: 42, 51, 156, 211, 388, and passim; *Stosunki,* pp. 384, 437 and passim.
[36] Syroechkovskii, "Mukhammed-Girai," p. 30; L. Kolli, "Padenie Kafy," *Izvestiia Tavricheskoi uchenoi arkhivnoi kommissii* 54: 131.
[37] M. Małowist, *Kaffa — Kolonia genueńska na Krymie* (Warsaw, 1947), pp. XXVII–XXVIII.

then called in the Ottomans and helped them to conquer the city.[38] The events of the next few years are not well known, but it is certain that Eminek played an important part in them. His letter to the Ottoman sultan in 1476 makes it clear that he was to command a forthcoming Crimean expedition.[39] In 1478 Eminek wrote to the sultan to request that he send back Mengli Girey as khan, since Mengli Girey's brothers, Nūr Dawlat and Ḥaydar, then in power, were in disagreement. The Ottomans were to make sure that the new khan would be tractable: "You should give good advice to Mengli Girey that he should come and seek well what is suitable for the country, and that he should not disregard Eminek's advice."[40] The sultan complied with Eminek's request, and Mengli Girey again became khan. Shortly thereafter Eminek was instrumental, it seems, first in deposing Mengli Girey in favor of Janibeg, and then, after a few months, in reinstating him.[41] The Barin karachi at the time, 'Abdullāh, was much less powerful than Eminek, but he did occupy an honorable position; his signature was required on treaties, and he corresponded with Moscow and was asked to influence the khan.[42]

'Abdullāh died probably in 1477–1478, and Eminek in 1484. Their successors seem to have been much less powerful. Once the Ottomans had conquered Kaffa, the office of tudun was no longer at the disposition of the Crimeans, or, therefore, of the Shirin. The subsequent history of the Shirin suggests that the loss of this office lessened the power and prestige of the Shirin beg. Mengli Girey, once reestablished on his throne, became a strong khan, and no clan beg after Eminek presented a challenge to his authority. It is true that for much of his reign, clan begs figured prominently among the few influential people around the khan. This group included Mengli's wife Nūr Sulṭān, his brother and heir apparent Iamgurchei, his sons Muḥammad and Aḥmad, with Barash Beg Shirin (karachi 1485/86 to ca. 1504), Barash's brother Dovletek, and Iankuvat Beg Manghit. Four other people were occasionally included in messages: Berdovlet, Tulpar, Khoziash, and Sobak Duvan. They were usually mentioned together, without clan affiliation, and little is known about them.[43]

38 H. İnalcık, "Kırım Hanlığının osmanlı tâbiliğine girmesi ve ahidname meselesi," *Belleten* 8, no. 30 (1944): 204–205; F. Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit* (Munich, 1953), p. 374.
39 A. Kurat, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivindeki Altın Ordu, Kırım ve Türkistan hanlarına ait yarlık ve bitikler* (Istanbul, 1940), pp. 103–104.
40 Kurat, *Topkapı Sarayı*, p. 112.
41 Syroechkovskii, "Mukhammed-Girai," p. 30.
42 *RIO*, 41: 3, 6, 14.
43 *RIO*, 41: 67–68, 80, 102–103, 143–45, 159, 178–80, 203, 226–27, 311–12, 341–42, 353, 389–90.

Nonetheless, after Eminek's death there is scant evidence of independent activity by the clans. Although once or twice the Shirin were said to be in disagreement with the khan, it is not clear what about or how seriously.[44] At one of these times the Russian ambassador reported that Mengli Girey's nephew had intended to go to Moscow but was invited to the Crimea by the Shirin.[45] One cannot tell whether these two events were connected, or what the outcome of the second one was. From 1487 to 1506 the situation seems to have remained constant. Mengli Girey was firmly in power, surrounded by the same few people, all of whom were apparently thoroughly subservient to him.

It is the Lithuanian correspondence of 1506 that gives the first indication of a major change. People sending messages that year were the khan's wives, the princes (the khan's close relatives), and a number of clan leaders: Tevekel Beg Manghit, Dovletek Beg Shirin (karachi ca. 1504–1508), Dawlat Bakhty Barin, Islām Mīrzā, and Agysh Mīrzā Shirin.[46] Of the people listed, Islām Mīrzā does not appear again, but all the others were important figures in the time to come. Along with them came several other new people. Both the number and the importance of the men around the khan increased greatly at about this time, perhaps due to the aging of Mengli Girey, who had been ruling, off and on, since 1466. The change was even more noticeable in the reign of the next khan, Muḥammad Girey (1515–1523), who was not as strong a leader as his father had been. Muḥammad's brother, Ahmad Girey, complained of this to the Russian ambassador in 1516: "You see yourself, what sort of person my brother the khan is. When our father was khan, he alone was khan and we his children obeyed him, and the begs and all his people also obeyed him, but now our brother is khan and with him his son is also khan, and the begs with him are also khans; they lead him where they will."[47]

As the khan's rule weakened, a number of people and groups acquired power. Among them were several clan leaders; the begs of the Shirin, the Barin, and the Manghit, along with one or two members of their clans, were important figures in the Crimea. But they were not much more numerous or powerful than their predecessors under Mengli Girey — Barash, Dovletek, and Iankuvat — had been. The people who took greatest advantage of the new situation were not the clans, but the princes

[44] Syroechkovskii, "Mukhammed-Girai," pp. 30-31; *RIO*, 41: 113, 119.
[45] *RIO*, 41: 113.
[46] *Stosunki*, p. 287.
[47] *RIO*, 95: 359.

and the "service begs,"[48] people usually of unknown ancestry who owed their authority not to their clans, but directly to service to the khan.

The princes had always held considerable power, which now increased, but the service begs rose within a few years from obscurity to considerable prominence. As stated above, several people without clan affiliation were mentioned during the first part of Mengli Girey's reign, and these may be considered service begs. They do not seem, however, to have played an important part in Crimean affairs. By the time of Muḥammad Girey, the service begs had acquired both power and influence; a number held governorships or had the right to collect certain taxes, and commanded troops which they joined to the khan's.[49] It is important that the leaders of the two rival factions — Appak of the Muscovite and 'Abd al-Raḥmān of the Lithuanian — were not karachi, but service begs.[50]

These two men were the most powerful of the service begs. Rather little is known of 'Abd al-Raḥmān's origins or connections. He did not bring his family to power with him; his father's name is not given and only one or two of his "brothers" are mentioned in the correspondence.[51] 'Abd al-Raḥmān became active about 1510, and soon afterwards entered the circle close to the khan. He corresponded regularly with Lithuania, figured prominently in court intrigues, and participated in several campaigns.[52] He was also governor of the city of Islām Kermān, and had personal troops of about two hundred men.[53]

Appak, unlike 'Abd al-Raḥmān, was part of a large and cohesive group. Its importance seems to have begun with his "older brother," Muḥammadshāh, who first became prominent about 1506 and died soon afterwards.[54] Appak himself began his rise to power during the last years of Mengli Girey's reign; first noticeable about 1509, by 1515 he had clearly become one of the most powerful people in the Crimea, a close advisor of the khan's and a leader of the Muscovite party.[55] About eighteen people

48 I have adopted this term from V. E. Syroechkovskii's article, "Mukhammed-Girai i ego vassaly."

49 Syroechkovskii, "Mukhammed-Girai," pp. 27–28, 35; A. Malinovskii, trans., "Istoricheskoe i diplomaticheskoe sobranie del proiskhodivshikh mezhdu Rossiiskimi Velikimi Kniaz'iami i byvshimi v Kryme Tatarskimi Tsarami, s 1462 po 1533 god," *Zapiski Odesskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnostei* 5: 413.

50 Syroechkovskii, "Mukhammed-Girai," pp. 51–52; *RIO*, 95: 276–77.

51 *Stosunki*, pp. 402, 406; Malinovskii, "Istoricheskoe i diplomaticheskoe sobranie," p. 413.

52 *Stosunki*, pp. 320, 381, 382, 383, 401; *RIO*, 95: 222, 361, 472–73.

53 *RIO*, 95: 269–70; Syroechkovskii, "Mukhammed-Girai," p. 44.

54 *RIO*, 95: 19, 41, 80, 82.

55 *RIO*, 95: 81, 82, 131, 138, 167–69.

came to power with him. The relationships among these men were close — they referred to each other as uncle, brother, or nephew much more often than did, for instance, the Shirin.[56] These terms were used loosely and inconsistently, however, and so do not allow us to fix many exact relationships. Most of the people called "brothers" did not have the same father, and one cannot tell whether they had the same grandfather. Nor can one fix people in generations, as the terms brother, uncle, and nephew were sometimes interchanged. Appak, on one occasion, referred to his nephew as his brother, and Aḥmad Pasha, although frequently referred to as Appak's brother, twice called him uncle.[57] It is impossible, therefore, to fit all these people on one family tree.

Syroechkovskii stated that all of Appak's group belonged to the Qipchaq clan; he seems to have based the identification on the fact that one member, Khalīl Beg, is known to have been a Qipchaq.[58] It seems likely, however, that much of the group's kinship was fictive, and that only some of its members were Qipchaqs. The fact that the marriage ties among this group are much more precisely and consistently described than their actual kinship supports this supposition.[59] In any case, Appak and his associates did not form the central part of the Qipchaq clan, and their relationship to the main beg of the Qipchaq is nowhere stated. They were therefore certainly service begs who owed their prominence to the power of one member of their group, Appak, and they were united less by kinship than by common interests, including support of Moscow.

The close cooperation within this group was shown in a number of ways. Not only did they refer to each other as relatives, they also acted together. Hence when Muḥammadshāh Beg, Appak's "older brother," went to Moscow as ambassador, he was accompanied by a "relative," 'Abd al-Shaykhzāda.[60] In 1518 two of Appak's "relatives," Kudoiar Mīrzā

[56] 'Abdullāh, *RIO,* 95: 170; Aḥmad Pasha, *RIO,* 95: 170; 'Abd al-Shaykhzāda, *RIO,* 95: 399; Muḥammadshāh, *RIO,* 95: 197; Kudoiar, *RIO,* 95: 495; Muḥammad Aga, *RIO,* 95: 495; Muḥammad Pasha, *RIO,* 95: 453; Salīmshāh, *RIO,* 95: 170; Asmak Beg, *RIO,* 95: 656; Eliuke, *RIO,* 95: 652; Khalīl, *RIO,* 95: 453; Pasha Mīrzā, *RIO,* 95: 218; Khalīl Chagirov, *RIO,* 95: 498; Ibrāhīm Beg Chagirov, *RIO,* 95: 525; Ibrāhīm Pasha son of Kulik, *RIO,* 95: 616; Malik Pasha, *RIO,* 95: 653; Tokhtaldị, *RIO,* 95: 498; Senberdei, *RIO,* 95: 616; Chibelek, *RIO,* 95: 243.

[57] *RIO,* 95: 170, 176, 468, 498, 650.

[58] Syroechkovskii, "Mukhammed-Girai," pp. 27, 31, fns. 169, 171. The identification of Khalīl as a Qipchaq is the only evidence of clan affiliation that I have found. Syroechkovskii, however, cites some sources unavailable to me, and it may be that he had further evidence.

[59] *RIO,* 95: 243, 498, 502, 656.

[60] *RIO,* 95: 36, 399.

and Muḥammad Aga, were sent to Moscow together, and in 1519, when Appak himself went, he took with him Khalīl's son, Muḥmmad Pasha.[61] In 1516–1517, when the Muscovite alliance was particularly shaky, Khalīl told the Muscovite ambassador that although he himself would not be with the khan's son Bogatyr Girey, his brother Pasha Mīrzā and his two sons would take his place and keep him informed.[62] The members of Appak's group generally supported Muscovy; Appak wrote to Moscow that he and his brother Muḥammadshāh had together served Muscovy, and that he had continued to do so after his brother's death, while Muḥammadshāh's son, Salīmshāh, wrote to say that he would serve Moscow as his father and his uncle had done.[63] It is possible, of course, that the impression of loyalty to Moscow was given by Appak, since it was he who told the Muscovites who their promoters were. When he wrote asking Moscow to reward its supporters in the Crimea, it was natural for him to list many of his associates.[64]

It is hard to distinguish the role of the clan leaders from that of the service begs. The group centering around Appak acted somewhat differently from members of the major clans, and they seem to have stayed closer to the court. They are less frequently mentioned in connection with campaigns, and even when Appak boasted to the grand duke of his power, he only claimed to have one or two hundred "relatives" at his command.[65] They also made and received fewer requests for the return of prisoners from Moscow than did the clan begs.[66] On the other hand, the leader of the rival group, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, seems to have gone on quite a number of campaigns, although he did not lay claim to any more troops than Appak did.[67] Unlike the Shirin and the Manghit, the service begs did not intermarry with the dynasty.

In many ways service and clan begs had similar careers and fairly equal power. Both often served as ambassadors, although on the whole more clan begs, particularly Shirin, went to Lithuania, whereas the service begs went to Moscow. Nor were the service begs necessarily considered inferior; in 1517, for instance, Appak went to Moscow as a beg close to the khan, to swear to the treaty between the two powers.[68] Just as the karachi

61 *RIO*, 95: 442.
62 *RIO*, 95: 365.
63 Syroechkovskii, "Mukhammed-Girai," p. 51; *RIO*, 95: 172, 276.
64 *RIO*, 95: 242–43, 520–21, 525.
65 *RIO*, 95: 311.
66 *RIO*, 41: 26, 124; *RIO*, 95: 72, 126, 172–73.
67 *Stosunki*, pp. 320, 430, 431, 437; *RIO*, 95: 441.
68 *RIO*, 95: 442, 630.

Agysh and Dawlat Bakhty assisted at audiences and advised the khan on policies, so did the service begs Appak, Khalīl, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān.[69]

The main power and influence in the Crimea, however, belonged neither to the service begs nor to the clan leaders, but to the members of the khan's family who were active in both political and military affairs. Many of them, most notably the khan's heir apparent, the *kalga,* held extensive lands and had an entourage and troops of their own; others, who had quarreled with the khan, lived in neighboring states, presenting a constant, if shadowy, threat to his rule. Early in Mengli Girey's reign his brother Iamgurchei and son Muḥammad Girey were second in power only to the khan; their names followed his on treaties and lists of presents, and they were often asked to influence him.[70] By the end of Mengli Girey's reign a large number of princes had become conspicuous,[71] and Muḥammad Girey, at the beginning of his reign, actually had to pay his relatives not to lead raids against his allies.[72] At this time the two most influential princes were Muḥammad Girey's brother Aḥmad and his son Bogatyr. Aḥmad, as will be seen below, pursued a course quite different from that of the khan and became a center of opposition to him. As for Bogatyr, it is worth noting that although 'Abd al-Raḥmān was the organizer of the Lithuanian party, Bogatyr's influence, usually for but sometimes against Lithuania, was most often decisive in forming the khan's policy.[73] Bogatyr's power was described to Moscow by Appak: "Bogatyr holds his father and the people in his hands; what he wants, he does."[74]

Since the waging of war was a frequent and important occupation for the Crimeans, a leader's military resources were a major element of his power. It was here that the princes most clearly showed their strength. When the khan promised to go on campaign for an ally, he usually undertook either to go himself or to send his sons and brothers. Almost all campaigns and large raids were led by the princes, sometimes accompanied by a number of junior clan members and less frequently by some of the begs.[75] While it is clear that the clan begs did have some troops at their command, they were not great military leaders in the Crimea. The karachi

69 *RIO,* 95: 204, 208, 361, 375, 472–73, 500, 502–503.
70 *Stosunki,* pp. 228, 315; *RIO,* 41: 387; *RIO,* 95: 20.
71 *RIO,* 41: 342, 374, 464, 531; *RIO,* 95: 34–38, 137, 163–66.
72 *RIO,* 95: 292; Syroechkovskii, "Mukhammed-Girai," p. 49.
73 Syroechkovskii, "Mukhammed-Girai," p. 53.
74 *RIO,* 95: 438.
75 *RIO,* 41: 187, 435, 487; *RIO,* 95: 103–104, 147, 262, 374, 494, 500; *Stosunki,* p. 428; Malinovskii, "Istoricheskoe i diplomaticheskoe sobranie," pp. 416, 418; also, for example, *Stosunki,* pp. 352, 410; *RIO,* 41: 209; *RIO,* 95: 70, 147, 374, 494, 500.

apparently campaigned rather little; some raids were undertaken by *mīrzās* (junior clan members), but these were on the whole relatively minor, forays rather than campaigns. One can take as an example a raid in 1518 when begs and mīrzās from the troops of the khan's sons, Bogatyr and Alp Girey, left their commanders and raided Muscovy without permission.[76]

It is clear, moreover, that the khan did not rely entirely on the clans to provide his troops. He and the princes had professional armies — the khan's numbered over one thousand men as well as about six hundred infantry with firearms.[77] In his book on the Crimean Khanate Smirnov wrote that Ḥājjī Girey brought in some nomads from the Volga as troops, and that his successors also recruited from the nearby clan of Cherkes.[78] Evliya Çelebi, traveling in the Caucasus in the early seventeenth century, wrote that Mengli Girey had recruited some troops from that region to campaign against Astrakhan, and had later resettled them in a new place.[79] There is frequent mention of "military begs," "warriors," and "ordu begs" in treaties and lists of people.[80] The army, then, was like the civil government of the Crimea; it contained a number of elements — the princes with their followings, the clan leaders, the service begs, and a special military class.

In his discussion of the princes, clans, and service begs, Syroechkovskii suggested that there was a balance among them in the Crimean administration, both in the general convocations the khan called before campaigns and other major undertakings and in the smaller group he consulted on more commonplace matters. For the composition of the smaller council, Syroechkovskii took the list of people present at the audiences of the Russian ambassadors Mamonov and Shadrin, in 1516 and 1518.[81] It seems to me, however, that Syroechkovskii may himself have imposed the system he perceived. It is certain that there were a number of distinct power groups in the Crimea, and the arrangement of people swearing to treaties shows that these groups were considered separate.[82] But even the

76 *RIO*, 95: 503, 506. See also *RIO*, 41: 230; *RIO* 95: 68, 186.
77 L.J.D. Collins, "The Military Organization and Tactics of the Crimean Tatars, 16th–17th Centuries," in V. J. Parry and M. E. Yapp, eds., *War, Technology and Society in the Middle East* (London, 1975), p. 259.
78 V. Smirnov, *Krymskoe khanstvo pod verkhovenstvom otomanskoi Porty do nachala XVIII veka* (St. Petersburg, 1897), pp. 246–47.
79 J. Hammer-Purgstall, trans., *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa by Evliyá Efendí* (London, 1834), pt. 3, p. 56.
80 See, for example, *Stosunki*, pp. 315, 323, 352, 434.
81 Syroechkovskii, "Mukhammed-Girai," pp. 39–42.
82 See, for example, *RIO*, 95: 20, 211; *Stosunki*, pp. 315, 323.

treaties, the most formal of documents, vary on the number of different classes mentioned, the order in which they are listed, and the terminology used for each. Sometimes, for instance, the right and left wing of the army are mentioned, and sometimes not; the same holds true of the religious leaders, the military begs, and the various palace personnel, scribes and servants of the khan.[83]

In the khan's more intimate councils, the structure seems to have been even less articulated. Although Syroechkovskii shows that the audiences held for foreign ambassadors included representatives of the main clans and other orders, one should remember that these audiences were themselves state occasions, and one cannot without further evidence assume that the people who assisted there constituted an advisory council to the khan. The evidence of the correspondence is inconclusive, but it suggests a fluid situation in which a number of people close to the khan exerted influence when they could. At any given time five or six people had the khan's ear; the Muscovites wrote to some of them asking them to influence the khan in their favor, and the Lithuanians wrote to others.

The workings of Muḥammad Girey's administration are illustrated by the negotiations over sending a prince as hostage to Lithuania in 1517. The khan's son Bogatyr, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Dawlat Bakhty Barin, and another member of the Lithuanian party favored compliance with Lithuania's request, while Muḥammad Girey's brother-in-law Tevekel Mirza, Bakhtiar and Chibelek Shirin, Appak, Appak's brother-in-law, and two princes, Aḥmad and Alp Girey, all opposed it. Appak sent his sister and Tevekel Mirza sent his mother to persuade Muḥammad's wife not to allow her son, the prince, to depart. Chibelek whispered in the young prince's ear that he should not go to Lithuania because he would probably be killed there. Refusing to hand over her son, Muḥammad's wife took him away, while Bogatyr railed at his father for giving in to a woman. These proceedings lasted several months, but there is no evidence of a formal meeting.[84]

This was a government not of structured meetings, but of personal influence based on status and on access to the khan. There is no indication that any definite position was reserved for the clan leaders in the daily round of affairs; one should notice in the example given above that Agysh Beg Shirin was not mentioned on either side of the controversy, although his taking part in an expedition to Lithuania to get money at the time may

83 *Stosunski*, pp. 252, 315, 416, 434; *RIO*, 95: 20.
84 *RIO*, 95: 472–73, 502–503.

suggest that he favored that side.[85] Instead, the role of the karachi depended partly on the authority they derived from their clan — something which ensured the Shirin begs a prominent place — and partly on personality and favor, which probably determined the difference between the position of Kazy Beg Barin under Mengli Girey and his successor Dawlat Bakhty under Muḥammad Girey. Even the status of the Shirin could not assure its begs first place among all the Crimeans, however. In court affairs the khan's son and brother enjoyed considerable, often decisive influence, and the activities of the more powerful service begs were almost indistinguishable from those of the clan begs. The service begs were inferior to the clan begs in military strength, but then in this area the clan begs were clearly overshadowed by the princes.

III. The Clans and the Khan

In assessing the power of the clans within the Crimea, one must estimate the extent of their independence from the khan and their ability to defy him successfully. The khan certainly had some influence over the clans, but it is hard to tell how much he could interfere in their affairs. We do know that the khan, once confirmed in his position by the karachi, in turn confirmed them in theirs. Syroechkovskii believed that while this was usually simply a confirmation of the person next in line, the khan occasionally overlooked seniority to reward service. This was, he thought, the case with Agysh Beg Shirin, appointed karachi in 1508; while Agysh was eligible, he was not the obvious choice, being the son of a third son who had not been a beg.[86] Agysh in fact hinted to Vasilii that when he was named karachi his service to the khan was taken into account.[87] It also seems that Agysh did not hold a high position before his appointment as beg, as the correspondence rarely mentions him before that time.[88]

The rights given to the beg over land and people are set forth in the patent to the Arghin begs, which was mentioned above. In that yarlyk the khan decreed that neither princes nor other begs might interfere in the domain of the Arghin beg.[89] We do not know, however, how much the khan himself could meddle. The question of landholding is important

85 *RIO,* 95: 501, 503.
86 Syroechkovskii, "Mukhammed-Girai," pp. 34–35.
87 Syroechkovskii, "Mukhammed-Girai," p. 35.
88 *RIO,* 41: passim; *RIO,* 95: 1–39, passim.
89 Lashkov, "Sbornik dokumentov," vol. 23, doc. 56, p. 126.

here, but our information on this period is unfortunately very scant.[90] The khan did sometimes regulate the succession to small *yurts*; on several occasions he wrote to neighboring states asking for the return of someone next in line for the succession. One or two of the people he requested were related to him, perhaps by marriage, but for the others there is no indication of kinship.[91] Unfortunately, clan affiliations are not stated and it is impossible to assess the size of the yurts. Hence we cannot judge whether the khan, besides confirming the karachi, also interfered in the disposition of smaller holdings within the clans. The few land grants we have from this period present the same problem, as they are granted usually to people without clan names, and neither the location of most of the land given nor the boundaries of the clan *uluses* can be determined.[92] The question of the khan's power within the clans must therefore remain open.

On another aspect of the clans' independence from the khan, namely, their ability to defy him successfully, there is considerably more evidence. Most scholars writing on this subject have concluded that the Shirin, and in collusion with them the other main clans, were powerful enough to oppose the khan and to change his policy when it differed from theirs.[93] The most common examples given are the refusal of the Shirin in 1516 to stop raiding the district of Meshchera, the refusal of all the clans that same year to ratify Muḥammad Girey's treaty with Muscovy, and the Shirin's estrangement from the khan in 1519. A close examination of these incidents, however, throws some doubt on the traditional interpretation.

The first two can be discussed together since they were part of the same set of events. At that time the throne of Meshchera, a Tatar Khanate controlled by Muscovy, was held by Shaykh-Avliar, who was a relative of Aḥmad, khan of the Great Horde and enemy of the Crimeans. This was a matter of some concern, as the land of Meshchera was considered the traditional possession of the Shirin. Accordingly, in November 1516, Muḥammad Girey told the Muscovite ambassador:

As for the fact that our people raided Meshchera last summer and recently, I

90 F. F. Lashkov wrote a long article on land tenure in the Crimea ("Istoricheskii ocherk krymsko-tatarskogo zemlevladeniia," in *Izvestiia Tavricheskoi uchenoi arkhivnoi kommissii*, vols. 21–25) but his information on this period is very scant.
91 Syroechkovskii, "Mukhammed-Girai," p. 45; *RIO*, 41: 174.
92 Lashkov, "Sbornik dokumentov," vol. 22, pp. 85ff., and "Krymskie khanskie iarlyki."
93 Syroechkovskii, "Mukhammed-Girai," pp. 30–31; Bennigsen and Lemercier-Quelquejay, "Le Khanat de Crimée," pp. 330–31; Keenan, "Muscovy and Kazan'," p. 94.

cannot guarantee against it in the future; although I shall be on terms of peace and friendship with my brother the grand duke, and I myself have no designs on Meshchera, and although I shall hold back my children, I cannot stop my people. The whole land came to tell me that they are not obliged to help me in that, and the Shirins decided without me that they would attack Meshchera in the future because our enemy is now in Meshchera, and it is traditionally our yurt.[94]

A little later that year Muḥammad Girey wrote that the karachi of the major clans had refused to ratify his treaty with Moscow unless Vasilii agreed to put a Girey on the throne of Meshchera and to release the khan's step-brother, 'Abd al-Laṭīf, then held in Moscow.[95]

One must remember that these events were described by the khan to explain his rejection of the Muscovites' requests. Although the begs undoubtedly did deliberate and give the khan their opinions on these matters, one need not accept without question Muḥammad Girey's assertion that their wishes ran counter to his. First of all one should consider why the concern over the seat of Meshchera arose at this particular time. Vel'iaminov-Zernov estimated that Shaykh-Avliar came to the throne of Meshchera between 1508 and 1512.[96] He also believed that Shaykh-Avliar was succeeded by his son Shāh-'Alī, and that Shāh-'Alī was ruling there in 1516, when the Crimeans complained of his presence. This last belief, however, is a mistake based on a misreading of the name by Karamzin, from whom Vel'iaminov-Zernov took his information.[97] In fact, throughout the controversy over Meshchera, from 1516 to 1519, Shaykh-Avliar was mentioned as its ruler. He was still on the throne in 1519, when he died and his son Shāh-'Alī, instead of succeeding him in Meshchera, was given the throne of Kazan'.[98]

If, then, Meshchera had had the same objectionable ruler since before 1512, one wonders why the raids Muḥammad Girey speaks of did not begin until September 1515, and why the issue was first brought up in the beginning of 1516. There is no indication that the situation in Meshchera changed at this time, but something did happen in the Crimea. In 1515 Mengli Girey died and Muḥammad Girey came to the throne. This necessitated a renewal of the alliance with Muscovy at a time when it was difficult to accomplish, as mutual relations had been strained for some time.

94 *RIO,* 95: 377.
95 *RIO,* 95: 388.
96 V. Vel'iaminov-Zernov, *Issledovanie o kasimovskikh tsariakh i tsarevichakh* (St. Petersburg, 1863), pp. 217–22, 244.
97 Vel'iaminov-Zernov, *Issledovanie,* pp. 247–48; N. Karamzin, *Istoriia gosudarstva rossiiskogo* (St. Petersburg, 1892), vol. 7, fn. 150.
98 *RIO,* 95: 290, 296, 520, 661, 663.

Mengli Girey had had some disagreements with Moscow in his last years, and there had been some Crimean raids on Muscovite territory — whether organized by him or his sons is unclear.[99] Muḥammad Girey had no long-standing alliance with Muscovy, and he was strongly influenced by his son Bogatyr, who favored Lithuania.[100] Moreover, the grand duke Vasilii, who although constantly requesting a treaty refused to comply with the Crimeans' requests to him, did not give the khan much reason to support the Muscovites.[101]

Muḥammad Girey, then, might well have agreed with his subjects about Muscovy. Although he spoke of the Shirin raiding Meshchera, they were not the only ones to do so: Bogatyr had raided it in June of that year.[102] Of several other raids about this time, one was undertaken in 1515 by Aĭdeshka Mīrzā Shirin with another mīrzā unidentified by clan, a second in 1517 by a number of mīrzās from several clans, including the Shirin, and a third in 1517 by Bogatyr, Alp Girey, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān.[103] Moreover, although Muḥammad Girey implied that it was only his subjects who insisted that Muscovy meet their demands, he followed his account of their disobedience by listing the Crimean requests and suggesting that they be met.[104] His claim that he could not prevent the Shirin from raiding might be less a sign of weakness than a veiled threat.

This interpretation is supported by the fact that Appak, when describing the situation in Muscovy, did not present the same picture. Instead, he reported in the beginning of 1516 that most of the ulans and begs favored an alliance.[105] Aḥmad Girey, writing to the Muscovites at about the same time, told them that his people were friendly to Muscovy, and that he had recently sent an embassy to Moscow which included representatives of the Shirin and the Manghit.[106] If the Crimean khan was clearing himself at the expense of others, it was not the first time he had done so. In 1510, when Mengli Girey's sons Maḥmūd and Burnash raided Lithuania, the khan disclaimed all responsibility, saying he had sent an expedition to stop them when he heard of their raid.[107] Aḥmad Girey, however, in-

99 *RIO,* 95: 103–104.
100 *RIO,* 95: 285, 342–43, 437, 438.
101 Keenan, "Muscovy and Kazan'," pp. 233–43.
102 *RIO,* 95: 343.
103 *RIO,* 95: 186, 441, 477.
104 *RIO,* 95: 378, 389.
105 *RIO,* 95: 242–43.
106 *RIO,* 95: 339.
107 *Stosunki,* pp. 372–73, 376.

formed Lithuania that Mengli Girey was lying and had in fact encouraged these raids.[108]

The other incident I would like to examine here is the disagreement between the khan and the Shirin in 1519. This centered around the khan's brother Aḥmad Girey, who had been increasingly hostile to the khan and even more so to Bogatyr. He had continued to favor Muscovy when they began to side with the Lithuanians, and he refused to assist at the khan's council before a raid on Muscovite territory.[109] At some point Bakhtiar Mirza Shirin began to side with Aḥmad against the khan. At the end of 1516 his wife informed Vasilii that they were marrying their daughter to Aḥmad's son Gemmet; but since relations between Aḥmad and the khan were not yet openly hostile, this was not a break with the khan, and Bakhtiar continued to play a large part in court affairs.[110] The first definite sign of opposition came in December 1518, when Bakhtiar helped dissuade his brother Avliia from going to Lithuania as he was asked to do. Still, he did this with Appak's cooperation and Appak continued to be on good terms with the khan.[111] By March 1519, however, Aḥmad had been murdered and his two sons were living with Bakhtiar. In June the Muscovite ambassador reported that the Shirin were at odds with the khan, that Muḥammad's son Ghāzī Girey, having first requested Bakhtiar's daughter, had then tried to take her by force, and that Bakhtiar had refused to give her up. The Shirin, he wrote, were not heeding the khan's calls for a general council; if any Shirin went, it was only one out of the entire clan.[112] About this time Bakhtiar corresponded with two of Aḥmad's sons in Turkey, Gemmet and Sa'ādat Girey, who wrote that the Ottomans would provide equipment and send them to take over the Crimea.[113]

Yet, some points in this account suggest that the rift between the khan and the Shirin was not a total break. First of all, it seems that the main quarrel was between Aḥmad's camp and the khan's sons Bogatyr and Ghāzī Girey. The Muscovite ambassador reported that the khan himself was well disposed towards Bakhtiar and was paying him for the support of Aḥmad's sons, but keeping this a secret from his own children.[114] Moreover, although the Shirin may have refused to attend the khan's

108 *Stosunki*, p. 379.
109 *RIO*, 95: 338, 359–60, 418–20, 446, 502.
110 *RIO*, 95: 401, 473, 589.
111 *RIO*, 95: 613.
112 *RIO*, 95: 624, 668–70.
113 *RIO*, 95: 670.
114 *RIO*, 95: 670.

councils, they continued to serve him; Bakhtiar's cousin, Temesh Mīrzā, was campaigning with Ghāzī Girey at this time, and Bakhtiar himself, at the khan's behest, went to guard Obrata against the Astrakhan Tatars.[115] As for Bakhtiar's correspondence with Aḥmad's sons, it seems to have led to nothing.

Neither of these two incidents, therefore, demonstrates the ability of the clans to defy the khan. In both cases, it is clear that the disagreement between the khan and the Shirin was less substantial than it appeared. Indeed, in the case of Meshchera, one can doubt they disagreed at all, and even in 1519 Bakhtiar Mirza and the khan were not entirely at odds. Nor were the clans completely independent of the khan, for, by this time at least, it seems that he could and did interfere in one important aspect of clan affairs, namely, the appointment of the karachi.

IV. The Weakness of the Clans

I have suggested that one cause of the decline of the Shirin clan was their loss of the office of tudun of Kaffa. Another probable reason for their weakness lies in a change in the clan leadership. When Eminek first became beg there was a power struggle within the Shirin, but Eminek's subsequent strength suggests that his authority within his own clan remained secure. After his death, however, the Shirin beg clearly did not hold absolute power within the clan, nor did he serve as its only representative to the khan and other powers. The clans seem to have been ruled by a sort of oligarchy, including the beg and one or sometimes several of his close relatives. When, therefore, the Muscovites exchanged greetings with the khan and the nobles, they corresponded regularly with at least two of the Shirin. Eminek's son Barash Beg was almost always listed next to his brother Dovletek,[116] who also played an active part in Crimean affairs.[117] It seems that leadership within the Manghit clan was likewise shared. Although Azika was the beg of the Manghits for some time after his arrival in the Crimea in 1504, Tevekel Mirza was also quite conspicuous in Crimean affairs, writing to Moscow and Lithuania and taking sides on issues within the Khanate.[118]

The weak leadership within the Shirin was particularly noticeable

[115] *RIO,* 95: 668, 670.
[116] Syroechkovskii, "Mukhammed-Girai," p. 31; *RIO,* 41: 49, 54, 68, 103, 120, 144, 159.
[117] *RIO,* 41: 209, 320, 356, 450; and *Stosunki,* p. 222.
[118] *RIO,* 95: 174, 185, 218, 473.

during the tenure of Agysh Beg. At this time two other Shirins corresponded quite regularly with Moscow —Kudoiar Mīrzā and Bakhtiar.[119] These two men were noteworthy not only for their correspondence; Bakhtiar, in particular, was an important figure in the Crimea. He was among those intimates of the khan who were asked to influence him, and he assisted at the audiences for the Muscovite ambassadors.[120] Moreover, he undertook business which concerned the clan as a whole. In 1509, at the request of Bakhtiar "and other mīrzās," the khan asked Moscow to return a member of the Shirin, and it was Bakhtiar who first complained about the appointment of Shaykh-Avliar to the seat of Meshchera.[121]

It seems, moreover, that the leaders of the Shirin did not always agree among themselves. In 1516–1517, when the question of Meshchera and the treaty with Moscow made the competition between the Muscovite and Lithuanian parties particularly sharp, the Shirin were disunited. Agysh Beg, although he was still formally counted as one of the Muscovite supporters, seems to have begun favoring the Lithuanians. His son was one of a number of mīrzās who raided the Muscovite border in September 1517, and Agysh himself went to Lithuania to collect money with Bogatyr and 'Abd al-Raḥmān. While on this errand, they met one of Muḥammad Girey's sons on his way to raid Lithuania, turned him back from that venture, and tried to persuade him to attack Muscovy instead.[122] Furthermore Agysh's name is absent from some of the lists of greetings sent to and from Moscow at the time.[123] Other members of the Shirin remained strong supporters of Muscovy; for instance, Dovletek's son, Avliia Mīrzā, was sent to Moscow to pick up some Muscovite troops to attack Astrakhan.[124] Moreover, as has been mentioned above, Bakhtiar Mīrzā and another Shirin were instrumental in preventing the khan from sending one of his sons to Lithuania.[125]

The events of 1519, when Bakhtiar sided with Aḥmad Girey, show further weakness in the leadership of the Shirin. Then the center of power seems to have lain not with Agysh, but with Bakhtiar Mīrzā. Agysh was still karachi; Bakhtiar was called mīrzā throughout, and it was not he but Memesh who later succeeded Agysh as clan beg.[126] Yet all we know of

119 *RIO,* 95: 40, 174, 185, 208, 251, 263, 313, 314, 400, 401, 590–91, 653.
120 *RIO,* 95: 208, 265, 590–91.
121 *RIO,* 95: 73.
122 *RIO,* 95: 477, 501.
123 *RIO,* 95: 391–425.
124 *RIO,* 95: 372.
125 *RIO,* 95: 473.
126 Syroechkovskii, "Mukhammed-Girai," pp. 58–59.

Agysh at this time comes from a message he sent to Moscow with the diplomatic mission of January to May 1519, claiming that his recent trip to Lithuania had been undertaken only because of the special request of Bogatyr and the khan.[127] During this time Bakhtiar was much more conspicuous than Agysh; indeed, he is mentioned as the main agent of the Shirin throughout the Muscovite account of the Shirin's disagreement with the khan. It was Bakhtiar who sheltered Aḥmad's children, received the khan's money, and corresponded with the Crimean princes in Istanbul.[128]

The authority of the clan begs was incomplete in other ways, as well. Although the karachi corresponded regularly with Moscow and requested presents for themselves, it was the khan who usually suggested presents for other individuals within the clans. Most such requests for members of the Shirin and the Manghit were made by the khan; one or two were made by Appak or Bogatyr.[129] It also seems that after Eminek the begs rarely led their clans in battle. The main begs are mentioned on only a few of the largest campaigns, such as the expedition against the Noghays in 1509, during which the begs Agysh, Azika Manghit, and Dawlat Bakhty all served under Muḥammad Girey.[130] This is the only campaign on which Azika is mentioned; Agysh is named on one more, and Dawlat Bakhty, on two.[131] In 1493 Barash Beg Shirin and some followers went to Lithuania to fetch his father-in-law, but it is uncertain whether or not this was a military expedition.[132] Neither the other begs of the Shirin and the Barin nor the begs of the Qipchaq and the Arghin are mentioned on campaign. The clan mīrzās were much more active; a large number took part in raids and many ventured out several times, usually under the command of the princes rather than the begs.

The clans' weakness was especially evident during the turbulent period after Muḥammad Girey's death, when they tried to assert their will against the khan. Unfortunately, the Crimean-Muscovite correspondence from that time is still unpublished, so only the major events can be sketched here. In 1523 Muḥammad and Bogatyr Girey were murdered while on campaign against Astrakhan. Muḥammad's son Ghāzī Girey became khan, but he reigned only a few months before Sa'ādat Girey

127 *RIO*, 95: 649–50.
128 *RIO*, 95: 668–70.
129 *RIO*, 41: 173, 352; *RIO*, 95: 161, 302, 525, 610, 636.
130 *RIO*, 95: 70.
131 *Stosunki*, pp. 362, 437; and *RIO*, 95: 70.
132 *RIO*, 41: 182.

arrived with a troop of Turkish soldiers, deposed him, and took the throne. According to Smirnov, the clans had been dissatisfied with Ghāzī Girey and had asked the Ottoman Porte for another khan.[133] The theory that Sa'ādat was the replacement requested by the clans is shared by Bennigsen and Lemercier-Quelquejay, who have published a letter to a Crimean prince in the Ottoman empire which complained about the khan, then still Muḥammad Girey. They suggest that it was written about 1523 by one of the Shirin to Sa'ādat Girey, inviting him to the country.[134] This supposition, however, does not tally with the report sent from Azov to Moscow that same year. According to this account, when Sultan Suleiman heard that Ghāzī Girey had become khan he sent Sa'ādat to take over. The sultan ordered Sa'ādat to decapitate Ghāzī, imprison a number of begs and princes, and send some begs and mīrzās to Istanbul; resisters were to be beaten. His orders were backed up by an Ottoman force of twenty thousand cavalry and five hundred artillery.[135] Syroechkovskii, using Muscovite archival sources, gave a similar account. Neither account mentioned any invitation from the clans.[136] If indeed Sa'ādat Girey had been invited by the Crimean begs, it was odd that he had to imprison and deport so many of them. Moreover, at the beginning of his reign, many clan leaders, particularly the Shirin, refused to come to him because he had in his service one of the people responsible for the murder of Muḥammad Girey. Not all the clans were united in this boycott; Dawlat Bakhty Barin soon went over to the khan. Sa'ādat refused to give way, and in time the rest of the clan begs came around.[137] During this crucial period the Shirin were still disunited. In 1525 Memesh Beg Shirin supported a rebellion by one of Muḥammad's sons, Islām Girey, whereas Bakhtiar and some other Shirin remained loyal to Sa'ādat. Still later, Bakhtiar conspired against the khan, but he was betrayed by two members of the clan and killed. The end result of these activities was a large-scale execution of clan leaders, which weakened the Shirin, in particular, very severely.[138]

By the reign of Sa'ādat Girey, then, the clans could no longer withstand

133 Smirnov, *Krymskoe khanstvo*, pp. 192–93.
134 Bennigsen and Lemercier-Quelquejay, "Le Khanat de Crimée," pp. 332–33.
135 V. Dunaev, *Pr. Maksim Grek i grecheskaia ideia na Rusi v XVI v.* (reprinted from *Trudy Slavianskoi kommissii Imperatorskogo moskovskogo arkheologicheskogo obshchestva*, vol. 4, no. 2), p. 57.
136 Syroechkovskii, "Mukhammed-Girai," p. 58.
137 Syroechkovskii, "Mukhammed Girai," pp. 58–59, Dunaev, *Maksim Grek*, pp. 58, 62.
138 Syroechkovskii, "Mukhammed-Girai," pp. 58–59.

the will of the khan, backed as he was by the Ottoman sultan. The evidence in the correspondence, fragmentary though it is, lets us trace the course of their decline. After Eminek's death, the Shirin lost not only much of their power over the khan, but also the unified leadership that Eminek had provided. From the time of Barash and Dovletek there was no clear leadership among the Shirin, nor, it seems, among the Manghit in the Crimea. When the laxer rule of Muḥammad Girey opened up greater possibilities for power within the Khanate, the clans profited less than did their rivals for power, the princes and service begs. These were the people who led military expeditions, or who received and reapportioned the money that poured in from Moscow and Lithuania. When, after Muḥammad Girey's death, the clans again tried to exercise their ancient prerogatives, it was not the khans who suffered, but the clans themselves.

V. Conclusions

The evidence examined here shows that during the period in question the Crimean clans were neither as strong nor as unified a force as has been supposed. It seems that the clan aristocracy was a very small group living in settled territory, at considerable distance from the nomads who provided their troops. In the strongest of the clans, the Shirin, after the death of their leader Eminek in 1484, the beg did not have exclusive control over his clan; he rarely led the clan into battle, and he was not its sole representative either to the khan or to outside powers. Instead, the clan was ruled by a kind of oligarchy whose members did not always agree among themselves. This dissension was a serious cause of weakness and, with the loss of the office of tudun of Kaffa, is probably largely responsible for the decline of the Shirin.

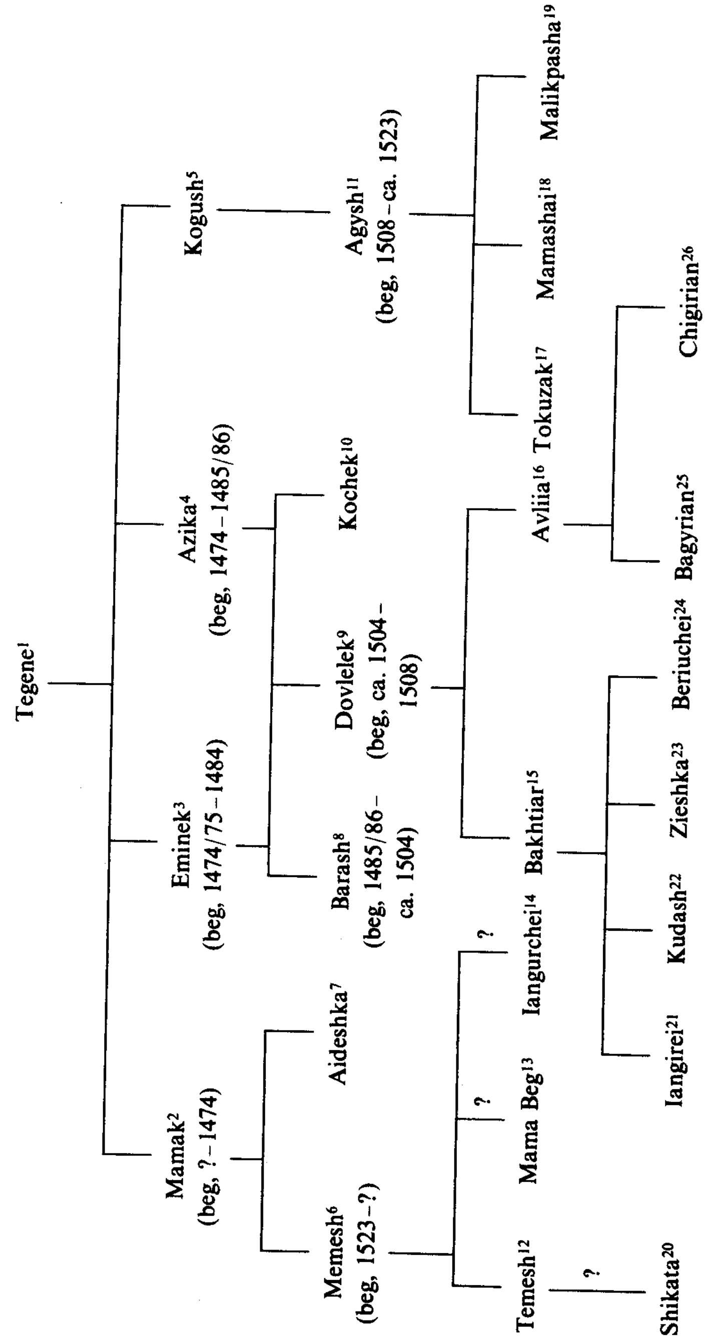
By the time that Muḥammad Girey came to power, the clan begs were not the only power in the Crimea besides the khan, nor were they the most important one. They had rivals in the service begs, whose activities closely resembled theirs and who headed the Muscovite and Lithuanian factions at court. Moreover, the group of service begs around Appak had a unity of leadership and purpose which contrasted strongly with the disorganization of the Shirin. Yet, the greatest power in the Crimea after the khan was neither the clan begs nor the service begs, but the princes, who led almost all important military expeditions and often had decisive influence over the khan.

The clans did not have the strength or the independence necessary to maintain their preeminence in the Crimea. The unstructured government

of the Khanate guaranteed the karachi no special place within the administration, and it was possible for the khan to influence the clan's choice of beg, as he did in the case of Agysh Beg. The khan, on the other hand, was largely independent of the clans. He could easily recruit other people for both his army and his administration, he could get both money and support from outside powers, and although theoretically the khan needed the confirmation of the karachi in order to take office, we have seen that Sa'ādat Girey was able to impose himself without it.

To understand the working of the Crimean government at this period, or to explain its policies, one cannot look primarily to the clans. Other forces in the Crimea — the service begs and, particularly, the khan and other members of the Girey dynasty — were by this time the preponderant powers. The study of these groups, their interrelationships, and their relations with outside powers might do much to further our understanding of Crimean politics. Such an undertaking, however, is outside the scope of this paper.

Appendix: The Descendants of Tegene Shirin



1 Syroechkovskii, "Mukhammed-Girai," p. 30.
2 *Stosunki*, p. 208.
3 Syroechkovskii, "Mukhammed-Girai," p. 30.
4 *RIO*, 41: 26.
5 Syroechkovskii, "Mukhammed-Girai," p. 34; *RIO*, 95: 39–40.
6 *RIO*, 41: 209.
7 *RIO*, 95: 197.
8 *RIO*, 41: 26.
9 *RIO*, 41: 26.
10 *RIO*, 41: 323.
11 *RIO*, 95: 39.
12 *RIO*, 95: 668.
13 *RIO*, 95: 161.
14 *RIO*, 95: 610.
15 *RIO*, 95: 174.
16 *RIO*, 95: 372.
17 *RIO*, 95: 609.
18 Syroechkovskii, "Mukhammed-Girai," p. 48.
19 S. Dziadulewicz, *Herbarz rodzin tatarskich w Polsce* (Vilnius, 1929), p. 330.
20 *RIO*, 95: 641.
21 *RIO*, 95: 636.
22 *RIO*, 95: 477; *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei*, vol. 6 (St. Petersburg, 1853), p. 259.
23 *RIO*, 95: 609.
24 Malinovskii, "Istoricheskoe i diplomaticheskoe sobranie," p. 415.
25 *RIO*, 95: 609.
26 Malinovskii, "Istoricheskoe i diplomaticheskoe sobranie," p. 412.

THE AUTHOR'S DIGRESSIONS IN ŠEVČENKO'S "HAJDAMAKY": THEIR NATURE AND FUNCTION

DAVID A. SLOANE

No single work by Ševčenko has elicited more critical discussion than "Hajdamaky" (1841), and few commentators forgo mentioning the importance of the poem's "lyrical digressions." The digressions themselves, however, have never been the subject of sustained analysis designed to elucidate their role within the work or to determine their interrelationship. By and large, scholars have focused on the historical and sociopolitical aspects of the poem and dealt with the digressions in that context, paying relatively little attention to their strictly literary problematics. P. H. Pryxod'ko, for example, in his book on Ševčenko and Ukrainian romanticism, does not address the question of the digressions as a phenomenon of romantic poetics. He speaks only of their patriotic content and "revolutionary tendency."[1] Jurij Ivakin treats essentially the same question in an article on satire in "Hajdamaky": "The function of the author's digressions is to link the historical theme of the work with the present. Namely the author's digressions . . . help the reader see beyond the events of the distant past to the pressing questions of [contemporary] life."[2] Ivakin's main point is that the digressions satirize Ukrainian political apathy under the regime of Nicholas I.[3] True as Ivakin's remarks are, they reveal only one aspect of the digressions and overlook the fact that several of the digressions in the poem contain no satire at all.

In criticism more attentive to the structural and stylistic aspects of the poem we find, amidst some astute remarks, either a lack of clarity in treating the digressions or, often, misleading statements about them. An

[1] P. H. Pryxod'ko, *Ševčenko j ukrajins'kyj romantyzm 30–50 rokiv XIX stolittja* (Kiev, 1963), p. 78.
[2] Ju. O. Ivakin, "Rannja satyra Ševčenka (Satyryčnyj element u poemi 'Hajdamaky')," in *Zbirnyk prac' Četvertoji Naukovoji ševčenkivs'koji konferenciji* (Kiev, 1956), p. 82.
[3] Ivakin, "Rannja satyra Ševčenka," p. 81.

article by H. A. V"jazovs'kyj, ostensibly devoted to the structure of "Hajdamaky," says nothing about the function of the digressions except that in them "the poet often merges with his positive heroes."[4] V"jazovs'kyj is substantially correct, but he offers not a single example nor any clarification of his idea. M. Hnatjuk, in his *Poema T. H. Ševčenka "Hajdamaky"* (1963), concurs with S. Šaxovs'kyj that "if from 'Hajdamaky' one were to isolate the author's digressions into a separate grouping, one would create a cycle of lyrics, significant in content, with meditations and emotions typical of the author."[5] This observation is interesting and might well be defensible, were it not for the fact that certain digressions make little sense when severed from the surrounding text — those, for instance, wherein the poet discusses the very problems of narration. V. Navroc'kyj's *"Hajdamaky" T. Ševčenka* (1928) remains one of the most perceptive and informative studies of the poem, but it, too, is not entirely reliable on the subject of digressions. Navroc'kyj quite accurately points out that Ševčenko often employs a "syntactical link" (usually the conjunction *a*) to smooth the transition between digressions and narrative as well as between narrative segments.[6] He is somewhat lax, however, in distinguishing digressions proper from what he calls "lyrical-subjective moments" and "subjective passages." As a result he mistakes part of the poem's section entitled "Konfederaty" for a digression.[7] "Konfederaty" does contain what might more accurately be characterized as a dramatic interlude, but since it is presented entirely through dialogue, one cannot speak of it as a digression (at least, not an authorial one). M. Marčenko offers an even more blatant misidentification when he characterizes both the section "Lebedyn" and the epilogue (in their entirety!) as "lyrical digressions."[8]

What is needed, it would seem, are some sound criteria for delineating digressions from the rest of the text. N. A. Dobroljubov, in his review of the *Kobzar* for the journal *Sovremennik* in 1860, attempted, unsuccessfully, to provide such criteria:

In Ševčenko we find all the elements of a Ukrainian folk song. "Hajdamaky"... [is] completely faithful to the character of folklore or at least to the character of

4 H. A. V"jazovs'kyj, "Kompozycija poemy T. H. Ševčenka 'Hajdamaky,'" *Praci Odes'koho deržavnoho universytetu / Serija filolohičnyx nauk* 147, no. 6 (1957): 82.
5 Quoted by M. Hnatjuk, *Poema T. H. Ševčenka "Hajdamaky"* (Kiev, 1963), p. 55.
6 B. Navroc'kyj, *"Hajdamaky" Tarasa Ševčenka: Džerela, styl', kompozycija* (Xarkiv, 1928), pp. 215–18.
7 Navroc'kyj, *"Hajdamaky" Tarasa Ševčenka*, p. 212.
8 M. I. Marčenko, *Istoryčne mynule ukrajins'koho narodu v tvorčosti T. H. Ševčenka* (Kiev, 1957), pp. 113, 116.

Ukrainian historical *dumy*. The poet is completely permeated with the mood of the epoch, and only in the lyrical digressions is the contemporary narrator visible. . . . Much poetic strength is necessary to undertake such themes and not betray even in one line . . . his own contemporary views. . . . But in the lyrical digressions . . . the contemporary poet appears before us, cherishing the glory of his native land and with melancholic rapture recalling the heroic deeds of [his] courageous ancestors.[9]

Thus, according to Dobroljubov the digressions are distinguishable from the rest of the text in that they reveal the contemporary poet's "self," while elsewhere the narrator is seemingly an impersonal resonator for the timeless voice of the folk.[10] Yet such a distinction is indefensible, even on the basis of the one passage he cites as a lyrical digression ("Homonila Ukrajina . . . ," lines 1216–51).[11] It is stylized after folk poetry and contains repetitions ("Dovho homonila, / Dovho, dovho krov stepamy / . . . / Tekla, tekla . . ."), tautologies ("Tjažko! važko! . ."), verbal doublets ("Tekla-červonila"), folk epithets ("sl'ozamy dribnymy") and a refrain. One is at pains to understand how these lines could seem any less "faithful to the character of folklore" than others. Nor is there any basis for Dobroljubov's assertion that authorial subjectivity is confined to the digressions. The author's sympathies are, to the contrary, quite manifest throughout the narrative — in the affectionate diminutives with which he refers to Oksana, in his commiseration with Jarema ("serdeha," "siromaxa"), in his abusive epithets for the Poles and Jews, and in his poignant portrait of Honta. Dobroljubov is correct in pointing out that in "Hajdamaky" Ševčenko projects two roles — that of lyric poet and of epic bard — but this distinction does not necessarily coincide with the boundary between digression and narrative. Indeed, in the digressions themselves the poet often insists on the latter role.

9 N. A. Dobroljubov, "*Kobzar'* Tarasa Ševčenka," in his *Sobranie sočinenij v 9-i tomax*, vol. 6 (Moscow, 1963), p. 147.

10 K. Čukovskij more recently described Ševčenko's poetry in similar terms, although he goes further than Dobroljubov — he sees virtually no subjective presence of the author, whether in lyrical digressions or in lyric poetry proper. He writes: "Like no one else Ševčenko possessed this gift of renouncing all incidental traits of his personal 'self,' and hence the characteristic feature of this book [*Kobzar* — D.S.]: however closely you examine it you can hardly find his personality in it; you cannot find anything peculiar to him alone, and everything that you attribute to him *as a poet*, as *an author*, turns out to be not his own but of the whole Ukrainian people." — quoted by E. P. Kyryljuk, "Do problemy liryčnoho heroja v poeziji Ševčenka 1837–1846 rr.," *Zbirnyk prac' Četvertoji Naukovoji ševčenkivs'koji konferenciji* (Kiev, 1956), p. 26 (Kyryljuk himself refutes both Dobroljubov and Čukovskij, on page 31).

11 All references to the text of "Hajdamaky" are based on T. H. Ševčenko, *Povne zibrannja tvoriv u šesty tomax*, vol. 1 (Kiev, 1963).

The existing scholarship on "Hajdamaky," therefore, has apparently failed to produce either a consensus as to what, precisely, the digressions are or adequate principles for delineating them. In light of this confusion, let us pause to consider what a digression is. The problem does indeed appear to be a more delicate one than previous commentators on "Hajdamaky" have implied.

The most frequent use of the term "digression" in literary scholarship has been in reference to narrative or lyric-narrative forms, as opposed to lyric poetry per se or drama. The presence of a story and a narrator who tells it would seem to be generally accepted preconditions. The narrator may be identified, to a greater or lesser degree, with the author, and therefore we can speak of narrator's or author's digressions, and the usage may be synonymous.

The term is essentially irrelevant to pure lyric poetry, although it often has a "lyric fabula" and the term "lyric hero" has been invoked to distinguish the image of the poet as presented in the poem from the real author. But in lyric poetry the fabula is usually simple and minimally outlined. Moreover, as Northrop Frye points out, the lyric poet does not generally perceive himself as a "narrator." He as if "turns his back on the audience" and engages in inner dialogue or apostrophic address to some artificial listener — "a personal friend, a lover, a god, a personified abstraction, or a natural object."[12]

In drama, the absence of a narrator and the concealment of the author make it difficult to speak of digressions. It is true that in modern theatre (e.g., Wilder's "Our Town") a narrator may appear on stage and that in Greek tragedy the chorus may convey judgments of the author. But even so the story is essentially demonstrated rather than related through an intermediary.

I do not wish to discount entirely the possibility that some form of digression may occur in lyric poetry or drama. If we interpret the term broadly enough, of course, a digression may appear in any form of discourse, anywhere there is a speaker and a subject from which he can deviate. My principal aim here, however, is to define the parameters of the digression as it appears in narrative texts.

Inasmuch as the narrator induces the reader to believe that the characters, events, and settings in his story do indeed exist on some common

[12] Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton, N.J., 1973), p. 249. T. S. Eliot is essentially in agreement with Frye, but points out that lyric poetry cannot be defined exclusively in terms of the presumed audience. See his "The Three Voices of Poetry," in his *On Poetry and Poets* (New York, 1957), pp. 108–109.

plane of actuality, he creates what we might call the "narrated reality." There seems to be general agreement, inferable from scholarship that discusses or at least mentions the problem, that the narrator digresses when he diverts the reader's attention away from the narrated reality to some other object of interest which exists outside it, on some other (extra-narrational) plane of reality. A digression occurs, for instance, when the author or narrator begins to talk directly about himself or to relate his own personal experiences. Such *autobiographial digressions* appear frequently in Puškin's *Evgenij Onegin* and Byron's *Don Juan.* Autobiographical musings or tales by a narrator who is at the same time a participant in the story are not digressions, however, because they characterize a persona who is part of the narrated reality. Such is the case, for instance, in the genre of the dramatic monologue (e.g., Byron's "Mazeppa," Puškin's "Brat'ja razbojniki" or Słowacki's "Mnich"). A related phenomenon (inasmuch as it calls attention to the narrator himself) is the *digression about the creative process.* In *Evgenij Onegin,* for example, the author discusses the difficulty of translating Tat'jana's letter into Russian (III.26–30), and the narrator of Byron's *Beppo* complains about the difficulty of keeping to his story (stanzas 50–52).

A particular set of problems is presented by the so-called *lyrical digression.* Critics have used the term rather loosely, as if to imply that all digressions fall under this rubric. Yet not all digressions ought to be characterized as lyrical. At least one scholar, M. Rybnikova, in an article on *Evgenij Onegin,* has made this point quite forcefully:

> Where is the lyric poetry in the novel? I have no intention at all of calling every digression lyrical. "Tam nekogda guljal i ja, no vreden sever dlja menja" is of course not lyrical. "My vse učilis' ponemnogu" is not, either. "Byt' možno del'nym čelovekom i dumat' o krase nogtej," digressions on literary currents in chapter III (sentimentalism, romanticism, realism), on the language in which Tat'jana wrote her letter, the jocular ending of chapter III ("Mne dolžno posle dolgoj reči i poguljat' i otdoxnut', dokonču posle kak-ni-bud'") — I repeat, these are all digressions, but not, of course, lyrical digressions. Similar unlyrical digressions abound in chapter VI [*sic*] (the address to the reader about albums, about odes, about wine). . . .[13]

Rybnikova's observations are basically correct.[14] She does not, however,

[13] M. Rybnikova, "Avtor v *Evgenii Onegine,*" in her *Po voprosam kompozicii* (Moscow, 1924), p. 34.

[14] Two of the passages she mentions ("My vse učilis' ponemnogu..." and "Byt' možno del'nym čelovekom. . . ," I.5 and I.25) I do not consider digressions. They are actually part of the hero's characterization and do not direct our attention to an extra-narrational reality. Rybnikova's reference to chapter VI is a misprint; it should read chapter IV.

describe her criteria for distinguishing lyrical from non-lyrical digressions. Nor does she offer any alternative terms to characterize the quite varied digressions she enumerates. On examining those digressions she calls non-lyrical, however, we see that they fall under either the two rubrics I have suggested above (autobiographical and on the creative process) or a new heading that we might call *disquisitional.* Disquisitional digressions are those in which the narrator seems to lecture, more or less dispassionately, on any variety of subjects and by doing so turns our attention away from the story proper. In *Evgenij Onegin,* such digressions deal with literary currents (III.11–12, 30), albums (IV.28–30), wines (IV.45–46), and the poor quality of Russian roads (VIII.34). The digression on tragedy, comedy, and epic in *Don Juan* (III.9–11) and the historiographical digressions in *War and Peace* also fall into this category. In disquisitional digressions, generally speaking, the author's intent seems to be the edification of his reader. He presents his views more or less objectively, or at least with the pretense of objectivity, often citing corroborating examples.

The central focus in a lyrical digression, by contrast, is the narrator's emotional experience. It concentrates on that undercurrent of sentiment which may be perceptible in the narration itself, but comes to the foreground only in the digression. Material within the narrated reality often acts as a stimulus to the lyrical statement, but to the degree that it falls into the background and does not directly occupy the narrator's attention, the passage is digressive. A multitude of various gradations are possible here, and it is often quite difficult to determine when to characterize a given lyrical utterance as a digression.

The task of delineating digressions is particularly problematic in romantic poetry, where the very fabric of the narrative is lyrical. As V. Žirmunskij pointed out in his study of Byron and Puškin, in this context the digressions seem to "develop imperceptibly from the emotional manner of narration."[15] Žirmunskij characterizes the lyrical elements of this manner of narration as follows:

> (1) Questions by the poet which interrupt the story and reveal his lyrical involvement; (2) exclamations as a direct expression of [the poet's] emotional agitation; (3) apostrophes of the poet to his hero, often in the form of a question or exclamation; (4) lyrical repetitions, i.e., various forms of anaphora and syntactic parallelism . . . emphasizing the emotional agitation of the narrator; finally,

[15] V. Žirmunskij, *Bajron i Puškin: Iz istorii romantičeskoj poèmy* (Leningrad, 1924), p. 95.

(5) lyrical digressions, in which the poet speaks out directly, revealing the emotional effect of the story on his inner world.[16]

Thus lyrical digressions are not discernible from the rest of the text by virtue of their subjectivity and emotionality, since these features are present elsewhere. What makes the lyrical digression distinguishable from other lyrical utterances, I would suggest, is that it diverts our attention away from the concrete narrated reality. This criterion seems to be supported by the examples Žirmunskij cites. He states, for instance, that a highly impassioned description of setting may "border on" digression, and he quotes the following passage from Puškin's "Baxčisarajskij fontan":[17]

Как милы темные красы
Ночей роскошного Востока!
Как сладко льются их часы
Для обожателей Пророка!
Какая нега в их домах,
В очаровательных садах,
В тиши гаремов безопасных,
Где под влиянием луны
Все полно тайн и тишины
И вдохновений сладострастных!

These lines only "border on" digression, without becoming one, strictly speaking, because their setting and time is the same as the story's. The reader is not actually diverted from the narrated situation. In another passage (from "Kavkazskij plennik"), however, the narrator generalizes the situation in the narrative to such a degree that we see beyond its concrete limits. In this case, according to Žirmunskij, we do indeed have a lyrical digression:[18]

Не вдруг увянет наша младость,
Не вдруг восторги бросят нас,
И неожиданную радость
Еще обнимем мы не раз:
Но вы, живые впечатленья,
Первоначальная любовь,
Небесный пламень упоенья,
Не прилетаете вы вновь.

Although these lines are relevant to the hero's fate, the narrator's utter-

[16] Žirmunskij, *Bajron i Puškin*, p. 78.
[17] Žirmunskij, *Bajron i Puškin*, p. 97.
[18] Žirmunskij, *Bajron i Puškin*, p. 97.

ance directs our attention toward the general human condition. We temporarily lose sight of the particular narrated situation, or at least see it as if only peripherally. This type of digression might be called *lyrical-meditative* or *lyrical-generalizing*.

Lyrical digressions in general ought to be distinguished from lyrical utterances of a particular character, since the latter are intrinsic to characterization of a persona within the narrated reality. Moreover, dramatic interludes, inasmuch as they are presented through dialogue without the intermediary of a narrator, are not strictly speaking digressions in the sense that I have proposed here.

Finally, in order to be perceived as a digression, a given passage must develop a certain momentum and structural independence of its own. Thus a digression must possess a certain minimum length. Any attempt to establish a prerequisite size must, however, be somewhat arbitrary. The shortest digression Žirmunskij cites is eight lines long.[19] My analysis of "Hajdamaky" will adhere essentially to this standard.

The above survey does not enumerate every possible type of narrator's digression. Nor does it intend to imply that the various categories suggested are mutually exclusive. An autobiographical digression is often also lyrical, a digression about the creative process can merge or even coincide with a disquisitional discussion of literary currents, a lyrical digression may evolve into a disquisitional one, and any number of combinations and gradations can exist in between. Indeed, the problem of defining and categorizing different types of digressions (to the extent that such a catalogue is possible) is so complex that it would probably require a book-length study. Here, I have attempted only to outline a general definition, which, I believe, is adequate to the more limited task at hand.[20]

19 Žirmunskij points out that size and relative structural independence are crucial criteria for distinguishing digressions, as such, from brief lyrical utterances which blend into the fabric of the romantic narrative. The shortest digression he cites is the one from "Ruslan i Ljudmila" that I have quoted above. The digression he cites from "The Giaour" as lines 432–38 (on p. 96) must be a misprint, since the context of Žirmunskij's remark makes it clear that the passage he is alluding to begins on line 422. Similarly, Rybnikova in discussing *Evgenij Onegin* indicates that one must "distinguish between lyrical turns of phrase sometimes only one line long, sometimes slightly longer . . . and whole fragments of the novel, a series of verses of a lyrical character." See Rybnikova, "Avtor v *Evgenii Onegine*," pp. 34–35.

20 One other type of digression which perhaps also deserves mention is what Jurij Tynjanov calls an *"image-digression."* An image-digression is simply an epic or extended simile. Inasmuch as it directs our attention away from the narrated reality of the story, such a passage conforms to my definition of digression. Tynjanov cites examples from Puškin's "Ruslan i Ljudmila," "Graf Nulin," and *Evgenij Onegin*. See Ju. Tynjanov, "Puškin," in his *Puškin i ego sovremenniki* (Moscow, 1969), pp. 138–39.

* * *

In "Hajdamaky" we can discern eight authorial digressions (enumerated here for future reference):

no. 1 — ". . . O bože mij mylyj! . ." (lines 339–45)
no. 2 — "Takym i ja kolys'-to buv . . ." (lines 370–416)
no. 3 — "Až obrydlo sluxajučy . . ." (lines 727–70)
no. 4 — "Het'many, het'many, jakby-to vy vstaly . . ." (lines 829–49)
no. 5 — "Pobačymo potim, a teper ne tu, / Ne tu zaspivaju . . ." (lines 1208–1259)
no. 6 — "Otake-to bulo lyxo . . ." (lines 1539–62)
no. 7 — "Raj, ta j hodi! A dlja koho? . ." (lines 2145–61)
no. 8 — "Davno te mynulo, jak, mala dytyna . . ." (lines 2438–86).

With the exception of the first, the digressions all treat one or more of the following themes: *autobiography, creation of the work itself,* and *history.* In them the author emerges as a dramatized persona and provides his own individual perspective on himself, the creative process, and the historical events that he depicts. From this perspective certain characters in the poem derive a spiritual dimension that would otherwise be lacking. This is particularly true of Jarema and the kobzar, who, by virtue of the digressions, emerge as alter egos of the author himself. The historical events, too, gain an added dimension in that through the author's eyes we come to see the *Kolijivščyna* as an event emblematic of the human condition in general, rather than merely a brief, glorious episode in the Ukrainian past. Moreover, we see in the digressions a steady evolution of the poet's self-image — a growing awareness of his membership in a national-historical collective and an increasing consciousness of the obligations that this collective places upon him. Finally, we find in the digressions echoes of those leitmotifs which appear first in the prologue and are later recapitulated in the "Peredmova" (in particular, the theme of universal evanescence and the literary polemics). Thus, the author's digressions contribute, in a variety of ways, to the unity of the poem's overall design.

With regard to the form of the digressions it should be noted that certain of them (especially nos. 3 and 5) are interspersed with lines which are not, properly speaking, digressive. In the interest of preserving each digression's basic contextual integrity, however, I have chosen to regard these lines as part of the broader unit within which they are found.

Digression no. 1 develops as a lyrical meditation generalizing both the author's and Jarema's personal misfortune:

[Ярема гнувся, бо не знав,
Не знав, сіромаха, що виросли крила,
Що неба достане, коли полетить,
Не знав, нагинався. . .]*
О боже мій милий!
Тяжко жить на світі, а хочеться жить:
Хочеться дивитись, як сонечко сяє,
Хочеться послухать, як море заграє,
Як пташка щебече, байрак гомонить,
Або чорнобрива в гаю заспіває . . .
О боже мій милий, як весело жить!

This digression indicates to what degree the author identifies with his hero, since most of the sentiments expressed here could easily be attributed to Jarema, as well. If these were Jarema's musings, however, the passage would not be a digression (see above, p. 317). In any case, the context clearly indicates that Jarema is incapable at this point of experiencing the sentiment expressed in the last line (". . . jak veselo žyt'! "). We have seen already in the prologue that just such a paradoxical reversal from despondency to rapture is characteristic of the author's train of thought. There, too, contemplation of the natural elements and the sound of a maiden's song rejuvenated his spirits and reconfirmed his desire to live (lines 7–26, 174–80).

Digressions no. 2 and no. 8 are the most poignantly autobiographical ones in the poem. Their placement near the beginning and near the end of the work seems to have an aesthetic rationale. No. 2 occurs as the plot is still in the stage of exposition (just after Jarema is introduced), and no. 8 (the last) is in the poem's epilogue. Thus located before the "rising action" of the plot and after the plot has passed its climax, they seem to contribute to the balance (if not symmetry) of the work as a whole — a balance evident from other compositional elements, as well: the image of eternal nature which asserts itself at the beginning and the end; the circularity of Jarema's fate (he is again an orphaned pilgrim as we leave him in the epilogue); and the image of heroic warriors who are conjured together by the poet in the prologue and are then seen dispersing as the poem draws to a close. This parallel is supported by the digressions' tone and content. Being of nearly identical length (47 and 49 lines, respectively), both contain plaintive reminiscences of the poet's youth and lamentations about his present fate, and in both the poet's attention turns toward questions of poetic creativity and, specifically, toward the creating of the

* *Verses not considered part of the digressions are bracketed.*

work at hand. The two digressions differ, however, in emphasis. If in no. 2 we see the author exclusively in his intimate, private aspect, in no. 8 we find him contemplating his role in his nation's historical destiny.

Digression no. 2, like no. 1, points to the author's spiritual affinity with Jarema. It develops as an afterthought, blending almost imperceptibly with the preceding lines:

> [Отакий-то мій Ярема,
> Сирота багатий.]
> Таким і я колись-то був.
> Минуло, дівчата . . .
> Минулося, розійшлося,
> І сліду не стало.
> Серце мліє, як згадаю . . .
> Чому не осталось?
> Чому не осталось, чому не витало?
> Легше було б сльози, журбу виливать.
> Люде одібрали, бо їм було мало.
> «Нащо йому доля? треба закопать:
> Він і так багатий . . .»
> Багатий на лати
> Та на дрібні сльози — бодай не втирать!
> Доле моя, доле! де тебе шукать?
> Вернися до мене, до моеї хати,
> Або хоч приснися. . . не хочеться спать.

The repetition of "mynulo," "mynulosja" and equivalent verbs ("rozijšlosja," "ne ostalos'") echoes the leitmotif of the poem's opening lines ("Vse jde, vse mynaje — i kraju nemaje / . . . / Žyve . . . umyraje . . . odno zacvilo, / A druhe zav"jalo . . ."). In the prologue the theme of evanescence was presented in cosmic proportions, so that the resonance here imparts a certain universal dimension to the poet's lament. The passage develops into a truly "lyrical" digression in the sense Northrop Frye defines lyric (i.e., as an internalized utterance with no implied listener). What begins as a seemingly casual comparison addressed to the narrator's audience (in particular, an audience attuned to the poem's sentimental thematics — the "divčata") drifts gradually into a self-enclosed meditation with its characteristic apostrophe to "dolja." The shift is signaled, in part, by the change from *kolomyjka* to *koljadkovyj* meter (the latter being intrinsic to philosophical reflection as opposed to narration). Then, as if sensing that he has neglected his listeners, the author turns back to them. But now his audience is a more generalized one:

Вибачайте, люде добрі:
Може не до ладу,
Та прокляте лихо-злидні
Кому не завадить?
Може ще раз зустрінемось,
Поки шкандибаю
За Яремою по світу,
А може. . . й не знаю.
Лихо, люде, всюди лихо,
Нігде пригорнуться:
Куди, каже, хилить доля,
Туди й треба гнуться, —
Гнуться мовчки, усміхаться,
Щоб люде не знали,
Що на серці заховано,
Щоб не привітали.
Бо їх ласка. . . нехай сниться
Тому, в кого доля,
А сироті щоб не снилась,
Не снилась ніколи!

In these lines the author's spiritual kinship with his hero is still quite apparent. Like Jarema he is an orphan, "limping through the world" in search of his evasive "dolja." Both seem to be victims of inimical mankind, and both seem to acquiesce to their misfortune. Paradoxically, the author's appeal is addressed, in part, to his very malefactors — while there are "ljude dobri," there are also those from whom his grief is best kept secret (lines 399–401). He finally realizes that this outpouring of emotion, seemingly irrelevant to his role as narrator ("ne do ladu"), has in fact no audience. The meditation becomes self-enclosed once again. The author turns away, as in the prologue (lines 105–109), to the mute walls which alone are sympathetic to his grief:

Тяжко, нудно розказувать,
А мовчать не вмію.
Виливайся ж, слово-сльози:
Сонечко не гріє,
Не висушить. Поділюся
Моїми сльозами. . .
Та не з братом, не з сестрою —
З німими стінами
На чужині. . .

The pathos of the poet's separation from his homeland, evident above at the end of digression no. 2, is the author's starting point in the other

autobiographical digression, no. 8. The keynote "mynulo" is sounded anew, and again the poet contemplates his personal fate. But here the emphasis is more on his spiritual kinship with Honta and Zaliznjak than on that with Jarema:

Давно те минуло, як, мала дитина,
Сирота в ряднині, я колись блукав,
Без свити, без хліба, по тій Україні,
Де Залізняк, Гонта з свяченим гуляв.
Давно те минуло, як тими шляхами,
Де йшли гайдамаки, — малими ногами
Ходив я та плакав, та людей шукав,
Щоб добру навчили. Я тепер згадав,
Згадав, та й жаль стало, що лихо минуло.
Молодеє лихо! якби ти вернулось,
Проміняв би долю, що маю тепер.

Certainly the narrator continues to identify with Jarema, at least implicitly, by picturing himself as a wandering orphan in search of fortune: indeed, line 2446 reproduces verbatim a sentiment earlier attributed to Jarema.[21] And there is still much in the emotional disposition of the poet to remind us of the intimate pathos of his first two digressions. Yet here, by contrast, the narrator is acutely aware that his own fortunes are bound to those of his nation. Whereas earlier he had affirmed his prerogative to muse about his personal misfortune without an audience, here he expresses satisfaction in having conveyed an epic tale (despite the scoffing "pys'menni") to an unlimited audience — successive generations of his countrymen:

Спасибі, дідусю, що ти заховав
В голові столітній ту славу козачу:
Я її онукам тепер розказав.
　　Вибачайте, люде добрі,
　　Що козацьку славу
　　Так навмання розказую,
　　Без книжної справи

[21] In "Hupalivščyna," with the thought of Oksana's abduction fresh in his mind, Jarema passes the tavern where he once toiled under servitude and recalls the past:

Usmixnuvsja mij Jarema,
Tjažko usmixnuvsja.
Otut, otut pozavčora
Pered žydom hnuvsja,
A s'johodni. . . *ta j žal' stalo,*
Ščo lyxo mynulo.

Так дід колись розказував,
Нехай здоров буде!
А я за ним. Не знав старий,
Що письменні люде
Тиї речі прочитають.
Вибачай, дідусю, —
Нехай лають;

The different emphases I have alluded to in the two autobiographical digressions point to an evolution that has taken place in the poet's self-image. In digressions no. 1 and no. 2, his aesthetic interests are confined to the intimate, private sphere of experience. In no. 8, his concern is more with his national-historical ties. While in the first two digressions the author pictures himself primarily as a lyric poet, in the last digression we see him in an additional role — that of epic bard. In order to trace the stages of this evolution, let us examine those digressions which deal most directly with the creative process.

This is the central focus of no. 3, and the subject appears again in no. 5. In each digression we discern a similar pattern: the narrator diverts his attention from the poem's sentimental-romantic thematics (represented by the courtship of Jarema and Oksana) and turns toward its heroic-historical thematics (i.e., events of the 1768 rebellion). This pattern represents in miniature the broader evolution in the author's aesthetic concerns that I mentioned above. In digression no. 3, for instance, the narrator interrupts the scene of the lovers' rendezvous, as if objecting to its effusiveness, and refuses to recount their tearful parting:

Аж обридло слухаючи,
Далебі, дівчата!
«Ото який! мов і справді
Обридло!»
　　　　А мати
Або батько як побачать,
Що ви, мої любі,
Таке диво читаєте, —
Гріха на всю губу!
Тоді, тоді. . . та цур йому,
А дуже цікаве!
　　[. . .]
Ото мова! Не розкажу,
Мої чорноброві,
Не розкажу против ночі,
А то ще присниться.
Нехай собі розійдуться

Так, як ізійшлися, —
Тихесенько, гарнесенько,
Щоб ніхто не бачив
Ні дівочі дрібні сльози,
Ні щирі козачі.

There is an element of romantic irony and even self-parody here, since by preterition the narrator does indeed recount their parting in an idiom no less sentimental than the one he ridicules. The passage recapitulates the recurrent polemic with those critics who importuned him to compose only entertaining ditties about suitors and sweethearts (lines 88–91). The author's aim, however, is not to entertain and titillate his sentimental "divčata," but to relate events of national import. He makes this aim conspicuous by calling attention to the shift from the love intrigue to the gruesome account of the sexton's murder. The shift is accentuated by an abrupt change in the narrator's tone:

[А тим часом світить
З усіх вікон у титаря.]
Що-то там твориться?
Треба глянуть, та розказать. . .
Бодай не дивиться!
Бодай не дивитись, бодай не казати!
Бо за людей сором, бо серце болить.
Гляньте, подивіться: [то конфедерати. . .]

The exclamations "hljan'te, podyvit'sja" cast the poet in the role of eyewitness — a device employed frequently in romantic narrative poetry to dramatize not only the narrator, but also the scene he presents.[22] Here, however, the device has a more specific motivation. The narrator consciously models his presentation after the tales of his grandfather, whose "stolitniji oči" (line 2457) were the faithful recorders of the Kolijivščyna.[23]

In digression no. 5 the narrator again turns his attention dramatically from the sentimental to the historical:

[Світить білолиций на всю Україну,
Світить. . . а чи бачить мою сиротину,
Оксану з Вільшани, мою сироту?

[22] See, for instance, Byron's "The Siege of Corinth" (lines 831 and following), or Słowacki's appeal to the reader to behold the action in his "Jan Bielecki" (especially section 2).

[23] I. Špytkovs'kyj even goes so far as to characterize "Hajdamaky" as a primary historical source on the Kolijivščyna, inasmuch as it is based largely on eyewitness accounts. See I. Špytkovs'kyj, "'Hajdamaky' Ševčenka jak pam"jatka Kolijivščyny," in *Zbirnyk pam"jati Tarasa Ševčenka, 1814–1914* (Kiev, 1915), pp. 48–57.

Де її мордують, де вона воркує?
Чи знає Ярема? чи знає, чи чує?]
Побачимо потім, а тепер не ту,
Не ту заспіваю, іншої заграю;
Лихо — не дівчата — буде танцювать.
Недолю співаю козацького краю;
Слухайте ж, щоб дітям потім розказать,
Щоб і діти знали, внукам розказали,
Як козаки шляхту тяжко покарали
За те, що не вміла в добрі панувать.

Here, as in no. 8, the author provides the central raison d'être of his work: to fix the memory of the Kolijivščyna in the minds of posterity. The passage prefigures no. 8, too, in that the verbs "zaspivaty" and "zahraty" (line 1209) suggest an image of the narrator as a kind of folk bard. He assumes this role with conflicting emotions — a painful awareness that he sings more of his nation's "nedolja" than its glory and a simultaneous sense of moral obligation. Later, in the "Peredmova," he explains: "Serce bolyt', a rozkazuvat' treba: nexaj bačat' syny i vnuky. . . ." Again and again he subordinates his private sympathies to this historical imperative. In the digression's closing lines the narrator projects upon the moon — his muse and sympathetic confidant in the prologue — the feeling of trepidation he himself experiences in facing this task:

Місяцю мій ясний! з високого неба
Сховайся за гору, бо світу не треба;
Страшно тобі буде, хоч ти й бачив Рось,
І Альту, і Сену, і там розлилось,
Не знать за що, крові широкеє море.
А тепер що буде! Сховайся ж за гору;
Сховайся, мій друже, щоб не довелось
На старість заплакать. . .

Thus the pattern established in digression no. 3 is repeated in no. 5: the narrator moves from the poem's romantic interest to the subject of national strife. And in each case he calls upon that audience most familiar with his intimate, sentimental aspect — first "divčata," then the moon — to turn away from the bloodshed he must depict.

History, along with autobiography and the creative process, is one of the major themes in Ševčenko's digressions. Ivakin is correct in saying that the author employs the historical theme to comment on contemporary times and to satirize Ukrainians' neglect of national heritage and their political passivity. This is the main thrust of the historical commentary in digression no. 5:

Діди лежать, а над ними
Могили синіють.
Та що з того, що високі?
Ніхто їх не знає,
Ніхто щиро не заплаче,
Ніхто не згадає.
Тілько вітер тихесенько
Повіє над ними,
Тілько роси ранесенько
Сльозами дрібними
Їх умиють. Зійде сонце,
Осушить, пригріє;
А унуки? їм байдуже,
Панам жито сіють.
Багато їх, а хто скаже,
Де Гонти могила, —
Мученика праведного
Де похоронили?
Де Залізняк, душа щира,
Де одпочиває?
Тяжко! важко! Кат панує,
А їх не згадають.

There is, of course, much more here than political satire. The evocative image of the natural elements mourning and comforting the dead is typical of the worldview Ševčenko presents in the extra-narrational portions of "Hajdamaky." In the poet's lyrical musing, beginning with the prologue, nature continually manifests itself as an immutable, regenerative force — always compassionate, always sensitive to human misfortune. Contemporary mankind, by contrast, is generally depicted as fickle and unsympathetic — the principal source of the "lyxo-zlydni" that haunts the author. The fact that his countrymen do not honor their heroes is only one manifestation of the evil he finds everywhere around him: "Lyxo, ljude, vsjudy lyxo. . ." (no. 2).

There is little for the poet to cherish in the present, so in digression no. 4 he turns to the past. Here, as in the prologue (lines 106ff.), he invokes an idealized image of the Cossack hetmans and their vast armies ("jak more červone") and laments that only ruins remain of their glory ("Kozac'koji slavy ubohyx rujin"). The contemplation of the Cossacks seems to dispel his grief momentarily ("Lyxo mlije pered nymy. . ."), but misfortune rematerializes as his thoughts return to the present and he addresses his countrymen:

Та що й казать? Минулося;
А те, що минуло,
Не згадуйте, пани-брати,
Бо щоб не почули.
Та й що з того, що згадаєш?
Згадаєш — заплачеш.

The suggestion "ne zhadujte" is not ironic, despite the narrator's stated aim of reminding posterity of its past. This is just one of the many paradoxical modulations of the poet's sentiments, similar to the contradictory exhortations in no. 3 ("Bodaj ne dyvytys'...," "Hljan'te, podyvit'sja...") or the antithetical beginning and ending of no. 1 ("O bože mij mylyj / Tjažko žyt' na sviti / . . . / O bože mij mylyj, jak veselo žyt'!"). The narrator cannot recall the past without conflicting emotions. The inspiration of past glory is always a painful reminder of the ignominious present.

History is treated again in digression no. 6. Here Ševčenko places the events of 1768 in the context of a more distant, primeval past, an ideal era of unity among Slavic peoples. The Kolijivščyna, according to the poet, was provoked by the Slavs' violation of their original brotherhood and equality:

За що люде гинуть?
Того ж батька, такі ж діти, —
Жити б та брататься.
Ні, не вміли, не хотіли,
Треба роз'єднаться!
Треба крові, брата крові,
Бо заздро, що в брата
Є в коморі і на дворі,
І весело в хаті!
«Уб'єм брата! спалим хату!» —
Сказали, і сталось.
Все б, здається; ні, на кару
Сироти остались.
В сльозах росли, та й виросли;
Замучені руки
Розв'язались — і кров за кров,
І муки за муки!
Болить серце, як згадаєш:
Старих слов'ян діти
Впились кров'ю. А хто винен?
Ксьондзи, єзуїти.

The mission of the hajdamaky is, therefore, one of holy retribution, and

their bloodshed has a certain biblical justice. The phrases "krov za krov" and "muky za muky" and the word "kara" suggest the Old Testament formula of punishment in kind. The expressions "toho ž bat'ka," "taki ž dity," and "brat" have a quality of scriptural metonymy in that they reduce concepts of religious morality to terms of domestic relationships.

Digression no. 7 presents the Kolijivščyna in relation to the classical mythological past:

Не спинила весна крові,
Ні злості людської.
Тяжко глянуть; а згадаєм —
Так було і в Трої.
Так і буде.

The last line broadens the temporal context still further. It suggests that for Ševčenko, the rebellion of 1768 was emblematic not only of the Ukraine's and the Slavs' historical fate, but also of the general human condition.

The historical digressions show that Ševčenko viewed the Kolijivščyna in a much broader temporal and ethical context than Ivakin suggests, and that his attitude toward it was ambivalent. On the one hand, he saw it as a moment of national glory, morally justified in light of the wrongs his people had suffered. On the other hand, he saw it as a monstrous fraternal conflict symbolic of man's seemingly eternal inhumanity to his fellow man.

So far our discussion has focused on the themes and thematic interrelationships of the author's digressions, but has not dealt with their structural functions. Commentators of "Hajdamaky," as I have pointed out, have done little in this regard. Some enlightening insights, however, have been provided by scholars examining the role of digressions in other works.

It has been suggested, for instance, that digressions serve as "retarding elements" — that is, they slow the pace of the narrated action. Erich Auerbach makes this point in his discussion of the flashback about how Odysseus received the scar on his foot (*Odyssey*, XIX. 395–466).[24] Viktor

[24] Though Auerbach characterizes this passage as a digression, it should be noted that certainly not every flashback will be perceived as such. It would seem that in order to be perceived as a digression, the flashback requires certain other contextual emphases. In the case that Auerbach cites, these emphases seem present in the length of the passage and in the fact that it occurs at a crucial point in the plot — just as the housekeeper distinguishes Odysseus from his impostors. See Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, trans. by W. R. Trask (Princeton, N.J., 1971), p. 4.

Šklovskij, in a discussion of *Tristram Shandy*, calls the effect "tormoženie."[25] Curiously, they attribute to the retarding effect diametrically opposite compositional functions. Auerbach explains that the Homeric flashback-digression keeps the audience aware of all facts relevant to the plot and thus diminishes suspense. Šklovskij indicates that Sterne uses digressions precisely to heighten suspense: "Playing with the reader's impatience, the author continually reminds him of the hero whom he has abandoned, but does not return to him after the digression, and the very action of reminding serves only to renew the reader's anticipation."[26] The discrepancy is due to the fact that Auerbach and Šklovskij are considering quite different works and quite different digressions. Depending on the work and the type of digression, of course, the retarding element may serve various functions. In "Hajdamaky" the retarding effect of the digressions is not particularly conspicuous since the manner of narration itself is expansive, and certain extra-narrational interludes, such as the merrymaking in "Svjato v Čyhyryni" and "Benket u Lysjanci," do much more to retard the development of the plot than the author's digressions. On occasion Ševčenko does use the digressions to heighten suspense. In no. 3, for instance, he leaves Jarema and Oksana to speculate about what fate holds for them (". . . Može, šče raz / Vony na sim sviti / Zostrinut'sja . . . pobačymo . . .") (lines 760–62). Similarly, the narrator leads into digression no. 5 by posing questions about his hero and heroine which he deliberately leaves unanswered (". . . a čy bačyt' moju syrotynu, / Oksanu z Vil'šany . . . / . . . / Čy znaje Jarema? Čy znaje, čy čuje? / Pobačymo potim . . .") (lines 1204–1208). The closing lines of the same digression (where the narrator warns the moon to obscure her view from the apocalyptic scene which is to ensue) also create a mood of heightened anticipation.[27]

Another function of digressions is alluded to by Jurij Tynjanov in his discussion of "Ruslan i Ljudmila":

> In this poem were revealed as if two centers of "interest," dynamics: (1) fabular, (2) extra-fabular. The power of the digressions lay in the alternation from one plane to the other. The significance of these "digressions" — not by themselves, not a static, but a kinetic significance — came to the fore: alternation, transportation from one plane to the other, in itself was a driving force.[28]

Tynjanov's remarks are equally applicable to "Hajdamaky." If the digres-

[25] Viktor Šklovskij, *O teorii prozy* (Moscow, 1929), p. 230.
[26] Šklovskij, *O teorii prozy*, p. 231.
[27] The same point is made by Navroc'kyj, *"Hajdamaky" Tarasa Ševčenka*, p. 281.
[28] Tynjanov, "Puškin," p. 138.

sions help retard the movement of the story, they nevertheless create a different kind of dynamism in their interplay with the story. This interplay can involve not only a shift of topic (as, for instance, from Jarema to the author in no. 2), but, often, a dramatic shift in the poet's tone and attitude. Digression no. 3, for example, interrupts the tearful rendezvous scene with a playful self-parody. In digression no. 7 the narrator breaks off an idyllic description of spring to fulminate against inappreciative "ljude":

[Встала й весна, чорну землю
Сонну розбудила,
Уквічала її рястом,
Барвінком укрила;
І на полі жайворонок,
Соловейко в гаї
Землю, убрану весною
Вранці зострічають. . .]
Рай та й годі! А для кого?
Для людей. А люде?
Не хотять на його й глянуть,
А глянуть — огудять.
Треба кров'ю домальовать,
Освітить пожаром;
Сонця мало, рясту мало
І багато хмари.
Пекла мало! . . Люде, люде!

The poet's plaintive, confessional tone in digression no. 2 is replaced immediately by scathing invective as he returns to the narrative:

. . . Поділюся
Моїми сльозами . . .
Та не з братом, не з сестрою —
З німими стінами
На чужині. . . А поки що —
До корчми вернуся,
Що там робиться.
[Жидюга
Дрижить, ізігнувшись
Над каганцем: лічить гроші
Коло ліжка, клятий.]

Such abrupt changes in mood are characteristic of Ševčenko's protean temperament and occur throughout the poem — not only at the juncture between digression and narrative. But frequently the juncture itself, as in

the examples quoted above, accentuates the tonal modulation. Thus, while slowing the movement of the plot, the author's digressions nevertheless contribute to the internal dynamics of "Hajdamaky."

But perhaps the most important function of the digressions in "Hajdamaky" is that they create an image of the poet as a dramatized persona, in particular, an extra-fabular persona not dependent on his role as narrator for the illusion of his existence. While in narration the poet's subjectivity remains quite apparent and we do not see him as separate from his narrative function, in the digressions he emerges as a discrete entity. Details from his biography and glimpses into his inner world lend substance to his image. One result of this is that the author can not only portray his characters, but stand in apposition with them. Thus, as we have seen, he can identify with Jarema. In the mirror of the author's own fate, Jarema's plight acquires a dimension which would otherwise be absent. He is not merely an archetypal Cossack involved in heroic exploits and romantic intrigue, but also becomes the incarnation of the author's own frustrated search for "dolja."

If the narrator identifies with Jarema (and, to a certain extent, with Honta and Zaliznjak, in digression no. 8), he engages in an interesting counterpoint with the kobzar. Aside from the author, the kobzar is the only important figure in the poem who is "extra-fabular," or outside the narrated action. He does not really participate in the plot, but rather appears in dramatic interludes — that is, during a brief episode in "Svjato v Čyhyryni" before the consecration of the knives, and at the merrymaking in "Benket u Lysjanci." Since he appears almost exclusively in portions of the text where the exposition is dramatic, or narration-free, he emerges more as a dramatis persona than a character in a narrative poem. Thus both the author and the kobzar do not rely on the narrative fabric for the illusion of their reality. They are not woven as if from narration, but exist apart from it.

This in itself would not be significant if the author did not cultivate the image of himself as folk bard. He does so in the digressions, as we have seen, with growing emphasis. Throughout the poem he refers to his manner of delivery as oral, especially as "song," with clear allusions to the art of the kobzar. In digression no. 5 we read "Ne tu zaspivaju, inšoji zahraju. . . ." Both the narrator and the kobzar sing of history in the making — the kobzar incorporates events into his song as they occur,[29]

[29] In "Svjato v Čyhyryni," for instance, the kobzar sings: "Nočuvaly hajdamaky / V zelenij dibrovi, / Napryponi pasly koni, / Sidlani, hotovi" (lines 1023–26).

and the author narrates, for the most part, in the present tense, often enjoining his listeners to witness the events with him as they unfold. It is clear, therefore, that the kobzar emerges as a kind of alter ego to the author himself. It would seem also that in the dramatic episodes, where no narrator is present, he performs the function of a narrator-surrogate.

There are, however, several differences in the way the kobzar and the author present their material and relate to their audience. These differences tend to enhance certain emphases that the author makes in his digressions. The kobzar, for instance, sings with exhilaration since his subject is Cossack glory. The author, by contrast, narrates in a solemn vein because his emphasis is on his nation's "nedolja" ("Lyxo — ne divčata — bude tancjuvat'. / Nedolju spivaju kozac'koho kraju") (digression no. 5) and because all that was glorious has passed (no. 4). The kobzar sings to entertain, and he readily caters to requests from an immediate and receptive audience. The hajdamaky elicit encore after encore from him, often suggesting his theme (e.g., "Utny šče ščo-nebud' pro hajdamakiv"; "Veseloji utny, starče!"); and the kobzar willingly obliges. The narrator's aim, by contrast, is not to entertain, but to edify, and in the digressions he repeatedly makes a point of *not* catering to the desires of his anticipated audience — as if determined to tell them what they do not want to hear. He has, moreover, several "audiences" with different implied or explicit "requests." Thus the poet refuses to heed the journal critics who ridiculed his theme and native tongue (". . . duren' rozkazuje / Mertvymy slovamy") (lines 73–74) and in digression no. 8 he affirms his indifference to their disapproval ("Nexaj lajut' . . ."). The "divčata," who are disposed toward the tale of romantic love, are also mildly rebuffed, for the author stresses the primacy of the epic tale (digressions no. 3 and no. 5). The poet's principal audience, his countrymen, are also (he suspects) less than eager listeners ("A unuky? jim bajduže, / Panam žyto sijut'") (no. 5). Perhaps the only truly receptive audiences the author foresees are posterity ("Sluxajte ž, ščob ditjam rozkazat', / Ščob i dity znaly, vnukam rozkazaly," no. 5) and those who are old enough to remember the glory that was (". . . može najdut' / Kozaka staroho, / Ščo pryvita mojix ditok. . .") (lines 191–93). Thus while the kobzar is in some respects the author's alter ego, their different situations underline a theme which is recurrent in the digressions: the poet's separation — not only in distance, but also in time and spirit — from his intended audience.

Finally, the digressions contain an implicit rationale for the rather peculiar development of the poem's two plot lines. Navroc'kyj has faulted

Ševčenko for not carrying the love intrigue to a conclusion.[30] He points out that this line of the plot becomes increasingly tenuous and finally vanishes in the epilogue, where we learn nothing of the heroine's ultimate fate. Yet the absence of a denouement in the romantic intrigue can be interpreted as the poet's way of tacitly demonstrating the evolution of his own aesthetic and moral concerns as outlined in the digressions. In the first two digressions, as we have seen, the author pictures himself primarily as a lyric poet and finds it natural to muse about his personal fate in its intimate private aspect. In subsequent digressions, however, he casts himself more as an epic bard whose primary duty is to preserve the memory of his nation's past in song. While in the digressions Ševčenko never relinquishes the role of lyric poet, he gradually comes to view his epic role as the more important one. In the digressions we see him constantly subordinating the strictly intimate sphere of experience to the more pressing historical imperative. Thus the phasing-out of the love intrigue, with its narrowly sentimental thematics, is not a flaw, as Navroc'kyj suggests, but the fabular corollary to the transition of the author's own aesthetic concerns.

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30 Navroc'kyj, *"Hajdamaky" Tarasa Ševčenka*, pp. 282–83.

DOCUMENTS

L'ÉPOQUE DE DANYLO ROMANOVYČ (MILIEU DU XIIIe SIÈCLE) D'APRÈS UNE SOURCE KARAÏTE

JAROSLAV STEPANIV

Dans la Bibliothèque Scientifique de l'Académie des Sciences de la République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine à L'viv, dans la section des manuscrits, au fonds Ossoliński sous le numéro I 1252 (feuilles 14–15), se trouve le texte d'un colofon provenant d'un livre parcheminé de prières karaïtes qui, jusqu'en 1830, était en dépôt à la *kenesa* (synagogue) de la ville de Halyč (actuellement ville départementale de la région d'Ivano-Frankivs'k en Ukraine). Le texte dudit colofon n'est pas en ancien hébreu, langue d'origine, mais est une traduction polonaise. La bibliothèque possède un texte de cette sorte datant de 1838.

Le texte du colofon, divisé par convention en sept parties, donne ceci avec la traduction française:

[I] [f. 14] Napisano to będzie późnieyszym pokoleniom, by wyznawali łask Boga predwiecznego, ktorych nam wyswiadczył.

[I] Il est écrit pour les générations futures, qu'elles se souviennent des grâces que l'Eternel nous a accordées.

[II] W roku 5003 od stworzenia swiata, podług liczbę Israelitow, zas od chrescianskiey 1243, a hegiery 655 roku podczas gdy pokoy zawarty został między krolem Tatarow Bahthi-Chanem, y krolem Chrobacyi, w Haliczu rezyduiącym Danijelem, naowczas kiedy Tatarowie plodrowali Ruskiey y Polskiey ziemi, ci dway kroli zawarli między sobą pokoy, a podczas układu pokoiu, ze strony krola halickiego był jego syn weliki kniaz Lew, y brat jego kniaz Waśko, y ci umieścili do kondycyi pokoju, ażeby krol tatarski pozwolił stu domom (familiom) Karajtów w Krymie zamieszkałym,

[II] En l'an 5003 depuis la création du monde selon les Hébreux, et en l'an 1243 d'après l'ère chrétienne, ou en l'an 655 de l'hégire, une paix a été signée entre le roi des Tatars Batou-Khan et le roi de Croatie Daniel (Danylo) qui résidait à Halyč. A cette date, alors que les Tatars dévastaient les terres ruthènes et polonaises, ces deux rois conclurent une alliance; lors de ce traité de paix, il y avait aux côtés du roi de Galicie son fils le grand prince Léon (Lev) ainsi que son frère Vas'ko. Ils firent inscrire dans les clauses du traité que le roi tatar donnait la permission à un certain nombre

sprowadzic się do Halicza, rezydencionalnego miasta krolewskiego, ktorych ma od granicy na swoj expens przyiąc wybuduie jm domy y dopomoze jm handel prowadzic połączony między Wschodem, y Ziemią Russyi czyli Chrobacyi.

de familles karaïtes résidant en Crimée d'émigrer à Halyč, capitale royale. [Le roi Danylo] était tenu de les prendre à sa charge une fois la frontière passée, devait leur faire construire des maisons et leur prêter assistance dans le commerce qui lierait l'Orient avec la terre de Ruthénie, c'est-à-dire la Croatie.

[III] Y na tym [f. 14b] fundamencie kazał krol tatarski ogłosic w Krymie, że chto będzie z Karaitów miec ochotę przeisc do ziemi halickiey, będzie mu nadano z skarbu krolewskiego transport y expensa, aż do granicy ruskiey, zas ztamtąd ruskie ludzi jch przyimią, y ich przyprowadzą do mieyszca, gdzie sobie upodobają siedzic.

[III] A ce titre le roi tatar fit annoncer en Crimée que les Karaïtes voulant émigrer en terre de Galicie obtiendraient de la trésorerie royale des moyens de transport et de l'argent pour faire le voyage jusqu'à la frontière ruthène. Là, ils seraient accueillis par des Ruthènes qui les amèneraient à l'endroit désiré.

[IV] Zatym pobudziło serce 80 domów nacyi Karaitów, między ktoremi było 4ch domow kapłanskiego pokolenia, 6 Lewitów, a 70 Israelitów, większa część była z miasta Sołchat, reszta z Manguf, Kaffe y t. d.

[IV] Le coeur s'éveilla chez 80 familles de la nation karaïte, dont 4 étaient de générations sacerdotales, 6 étaient lévites et 70 israélites. Ces familles venaient pour la plupart de la ville de Solxat, le reste de Mangup, de Caffa etc.

[V] Y w r-u 5006 od stworzenia świata podług Israelitów, zas do liczbę chrzescian 1246, a hegiery 658° roku, zebrali się razem, y i Tatarowie odprowadzili do granicy swoiey, furami i expensą krola tatarskiego, a ztamtąd przyieli ich ludzi krola halickiego, y na jego expensie y iego podwodami, przywiezli ich do Halicza.

[V] Et, en l'an 5006 depuis la création du monde selon les Hébreux, en l'an 1246 de l'ère chrétienne et en l'an 658 de l'hégire, ils se réunirent et les Tatars les conduisirent en charrettes et aux frais du roi tatar jusqu'à leur frontière. Là, ils furent accueillis par des gens du roi de Galicie et amenés à son compte et sur ses charrettes à Halyč.

[VI] Przyioł ich krol y jego [f. 15] urzędnicy, y pobudowali jm domy przeciwko zamku krolewskiego ktoren stoj na gorze, na brzego [*sic*] rzeczką Łuków, od połnocney strony zamku, w ulicy Ruskiey gdzie stoi murowana boznica tychze, gdzie dawniey odprawiały słuzbę Pek Ossynę, na cmentarz dali jm mieysce na wysogim [*sic*] brzegu nad rzeczką Czew, przeciwko boznicy dawniey zwaną Lelom polelom, każdemu darował krol po 100 grzy-

[VI] Le roi et ses fonctionnaires les reçurent et leur firent construire des maisons en face du château royal, dressé sur une colline au bord de la Lukva, au nord du château dans la rue Rus'ka. On y trouve leur temple de pierre, dans lequel on célébrait jadis la messe Pek-Osyna. Il leur fut donné une place pour le cimetière sur une haute rive de la Čev en face du temple nommé jadis Lelom-polelom. Le roi fit don de 100 grivnas d'argent à

wien srebra, nadał im przywiley, prowadzenia handlu wolnego w całey ziemie ruskiey, y ze wolno jm trzymac y synkowac w jch domach wszelkiemi trunkami, tudzież nadał jm grąta na gorze, y pola między rzeczką Łukow y rzeką Dniestrem.

chacun d'eux. Il leur accorda le privilège du libre commerce dans toute la terre de Ruthénie et le droit d'avoir et de vendre n'importe quelles boissons dans leurs demeures. Il leur distribua aussi des terres sur la colline et les champs situés entre la Lukva et le Dniestr.

[VII] Na tym przywileju podpisał się krol Danijel, y jego brat Wasko kniaz y biskup Petro.

[VII] Le privilège fut signé par le roi Danylo, par son frère le prince Vas'ko, et par l'évêque Pierre (Petro).

La découverte de ce colofon ne nous revient pas. Le texte en a été maintes fois recopié[1] et même imprimé trois fois, il a été commenté et critiqué, mais, malgré tout, n'a jamais été analysé en profondeur. Ce n'est pas tout: si, au milieu du siècle dernier, il était encore l'objet de discussions scientifiques, plus tard on en a tout simplement oublié l'existence ou bien on ne s'en est servi que pour faire mention de quelques données (par exemple, pour citer les dates 1243 et 1246), lesquelles ont suscité un scepticisme presque unanime et cela sans que l'on ait daigné voir les sources d'où ces dates avaient été tirées et comprendre comment une telle datation avait pu naître.

Voilà ce que l'on sait sur les origines du colofon. Suite à la demande formulée en 1838 par l'historien ukrainien Denys Zubryc'kyj (1777–1862), membre-correspondant de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de Saint-Pétersbourg, sur l'origine des Karaïtes d'Ukraine, le hazzan de Halyč Abraham Leonovič (Leonowicz, mort en 1851), érudit karaïte bien connu de son temps, lui a répondu par la lettre suivante (la pièce originale de la lettre écrite en polonais se trouve dans le manuscrit déjà cité No. I 1252, feuille 13):

Monsieur le juge,[2]

Il m'est toujours agréable et dans chaque cas, selon mes moyens, d'accomplir des devoirs que votre grâce m'a conférés. Je m'applique d'autant plus maintenant à satisfaire votre demande. En cherchant parmi les papiers j'ai trouvé un extrait du livre, autrement dit le brouillon d'une information, que j'avais écrit pour une demande semblable faite en 1813 par feu son Excellence le métropolite Anhellovyč.

[1] Une autre copie manuscrite du colofon se trouve dans la section des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque scientifique de l'Académie des Sciences à Ľviv, fonds Ossoliński, sous le numéro III 2442, f. 86. L'origine de cette copie, dont l'écriture date du milieu du XIX[e] siècle, est inconnue.

[2] D. Zubryc'kyj était de 1809 à 1820 juge aux tribunaux de la région de Peremyšl'; il assumait aussi ces fonctions au Tribunal de province (Landesrecht) à Ľviv et fut plus tard juge d'instruction à Ľviv.

Le livre, d'où a été tiré l'extrait, était un bréviaire de grand format écrit sur parchemin avant l'exode des Karaïtes de Crimée, à l'époque où il n'y avait pas encore d'imprimeries en Europe. Il y était question du temps du départ des Karaïtes de la Crimée pour Halyč; il y avait aussi diverses notes sur les agréments et les contrariétés qu'ont eus depuis près de 600 ans les colonies sur les nouveaux lieux d'habitation.

Cependant, ce livre a malheureusement été détruit avec notre temple (comme le sait votre Grâce) en 1830 lors d'un incendie impitoyable. Je me suis néanmoins souvenu avoir fait un extrait de ce livre pour feu son Excellence Anhellovyč, lequel a confirmé que cela était en conformité avec un livre (que feu [le métropolite] avait lu), que les Karaïtes étaient venus en Ruthénie Rouge encore au XIII^{e} siècle, lors du règne des grands-princes ruthènes. J'ai recherché cet [extrait] dans mes papiers et je joins ici la copie, traduite en polonais, sous [le signe] ⁒.

Que Monsieur daigne prendre acte [de cet extrait] et le fasse connaître à qui il faut. De même, que votre grâce daigne me pardonner de ne pas l'avoir informée avant, car, en plus des devoirs rituels complexes que nous avons pour les fêtes actuelles, je me sens épuisé. Ce n'est qu'après avoir constaté mon retard dans la réponse que j'ai fait de mon mieux pour la préparer conformément à [mes] efforts et pour la présenter humblement à Monsieur. J'ai l'honneur d'avouer honnêtement que je reste toujours le plus profondément obligé à Monsieur notre bienfaiteur.

Halyč, le 3.X.1838. Leonovič[3]

Abraham Leonovič a joint à cette lettre le texte du colofon même en l'intitulant: "Information sur l'arrivée des Karaïtes en terre ruthène de Galicie, extraite d'une de leurs anciennes chroniques, parcheminée et exécutée par Leonovič, rabbin actuel des Karaïtes à Halyč."

Parmi les renseignements contenus dans la lettre, il y en a surtout deux qui attirent notre attention: ils sont vérifiés par d'autres données.

Primo. Il s'agit d'une mention sur ce qu'une traduction du colofon (ou peut-être même une copie d'un texte original écrit en hébreu) a été faite pour la première fois en 1813 pour Antin Anhellovyč (1756–1814), métropolite catholique ukrainien de L'viv (depuis 1808), ancien professeur et recteur de l'Université de L'viv. Celui-ci avait en effet toutes les raisons de s'intéresser aux Karaïtes de Halyč: il avait acheté en 1811 Halyč et le village voisin Zalukva, ainsi que le droit de vente de l'eau-de-vie à Halyč, le droit de transport par bac pour la traversée du Dniestr etc. Il est évident que c'est pour ces raisons qu'il voulait avoir des renseignements sur les habitants "exotiques" de Halyč. Nos recherches dans les archives des métropolites catholiques ukrainiens de L'viv (qui se trouvent, il est vrai, avec de grandes lacunes, aux Archives Historiques d'État de la Répu-

3 L'extrait de cette lettre a été publié dans: S. Kunasiewicz, *Przechadzki archeologiczne po Lwowie*, fasc. 2–3, L'viv, 1876, p. 122.

blique socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine à L'viv, fonds 201, 408, 491) n'ont abouti pour le moment à rien — la lettre d'Abraham Leonovič n'a pas été retrouvée. Pourtant, le fait même que la copie et la traduction du colofon ont été exécutées justement à cette époque ne laisse aucun doute.

Secundo: la nouvelle de l'incendie de Halyč. En 1830 en effet, un grand incendie détruisit presque toute la ville; c'est alors que fut brûlée ladite kenesa de bois avec, comme on doit le supposer, tous ses documents écrits.

En réalité Leonovič est non seulement le premier publicateur de colofon (bien qu'il ne l'ait pas fait sous forme imprimée), mais aussi son premier interprète. Ses interprétations sont naïves et souvent ne résistent pas à la critique scientifique; mais, pour répondre aux accusations portées plus tard contre Leonovič, il est nécessaire de les citer: elles montrent le niveau des connaissances historiques propres au hazzan à cette époque.

Voici ce qu'il écrit à propos de l'arrivée des Karaïtes à Halyč:

> Quand les Karaïtes émigrèrent à Halyč, il n'y avait pas encore dans ces lieux de Juifs talmudistes. Les indications données par le voyageur juif Benjamin de Tudela (que le comte Tadeusz Czacki mentionne aussi dans son ouvrage scientifique intitulé *Rozprawa o żydach i karaitach* (1807) en font preuve, car, parlant des synagogues juives, [il] ne fait pas mention de [leur] existence à cette époque en Ruthénie locale. En outre, un autre indice permet de dire que les Juifs sont venus à Halyč après les Karaïtes: un cimetière karaïte se trouve sur la rive même de la Čev, tandis que celui des Juifs ne lui a été accolé que plus tard. Ledit voyageur Benjamin est mort en 1172.

En commentant dans la suite la date 5006 = 1246, Leonovič expliquait:

> Depuis cette époque, on calcule chaque année dans les calendriers (que les savants Karaïtes composaient pour eux-mêmes) aussi l'année de l'arrivée des Karaïtes à Halyč; par exemple, l'année israélite 5599 depuis la création du monde c'est [l'année] 592 depuis que nous sommes à Halyč, [l'année] 361 quand on s'est installé à Luc'k (Loutsk) et ainsi de suite. Et le fait que dans ledit ouvrage (édition de Vilnius, p. 266) le comte savant susmentionné dit que "les actes témoignent que durant quatre siècles aucun Karaïte dans notre pays n'a été traduit devant la justice pour crime," [il] a dû l'apprendre des Karaïtes de Luc'k, parce que c'est d'eux qu'il avait obtenu certains renseignements.

Leonovič a joint ces commentaires à titre de supplément à la traduction du colofon dans le manuscrit No. I 1252.

Zubryc'kyj, que l'on a cité plus haut, a pour la première fois publié le colofon karaïte sous forme imprimée (en traduction russe) dans son étude "Kritiko-istoričeskaja povest' vremennyx let Červonnoj ili Galickoj Rusi — ot vodvorenija xristianstva pri knjazjax pokolenija Vladimira Velikogo do konca XV stoletija" (Moscou, 1845, pp. 154–55). Dans cet ouvrage, l'excursion en question a été intitulée par l'auteur "Renseigne-

ments sur l'arrivée en 1246 des Karaïtes en Ruthénie rouge." En terminant sa publication, Zubryc'kyj notait: "Le rabbin actuel Leonovič a traduit ceci (c'est-à-dire le colofon — Ja. S.) de l'hébreu, mais je laisse à l'examen futur le soin de décider dans quelle mesure ce renseignement correspond à la réalité historique." Jamais Zubryc'kyj n'a effectué cet "examen futur," mais ce qu'il y a de particulier, c'est que cet historien hypercritique était enclin à admettre (en se fondant évidemment sur le colofon) que les Karaïtes étaient arrivés sur les terres occidentales de la Ruthénie au XIII^e^ siècle. En parlant dans ses écrit des colons étrangers dans l'État de Galicie-Volynie, il affirmait (op. cité, p. 143): "Les artisans et les peintres allemands furent installés pour la première fois à L'viv et ses environs non pas sous Casimir le Grand, comme on l'affirmait jusqu'alors, mais à l'époque de Lev et de ses successeurs ruthènes qui les avaient fait venir dans ces lieux avec des Arméniens, des Karaïtes et d'autres." Presque en même temps que Zubryc'kyj, un autre savant ukrainien, ethnographe, historien et linguiste, Ivan Vahylevyč (1811–1866), s'intéressait au colofon. Il connaissait Leonovič en personne[4] et, après avoir obtenu de lui le texte du colofon, il prépara en 1839 une étude intitulée "La ville de Halyč" dans laquelle il inséra le même texte en traduction polonaise. Ivan Vahylevyč était d'avis que les principales données du colofon correspondaient à la vérité historique. Il citait les Karaïtes comme étant "les plus anciens habitants" de Halyč que "le roi Danylo avait fait venir de la Crimée au milieu du XIII^e^ siècle à la suite d'un traité signé avec Batou-Khan afin d'entretenir des rapports commerciaux avec l'Est [. . .]. Ils étaient en possession d'un privilège du roi Danylo qui a brûlé avec le temple en 1830."

L'article de Ivan Vahylevyč n'a jamais pu être publié de son vivant. Peu de temps après sa parution, l'auteur le fit passer en Russie pour le publier,[5] mais il n'a pas été imprimé et est conservé actuellement sous sa forme manuscrite à la Bibliothèque Lénine à Moscou (section des manuscrits, fonds "auteurs étrangers," serviette 1, dossier 16, feuilles 1–2).

Au début des années 1850, l'historien amateur ukrainien Omeljan Levyc'kyj (1821–1891) vint à prendre connaissance de Leonovič et du colofon. Il conserva des renseignements sur le colofon, sur l'incendie qui l'avait détruit en 1830, sur la copie écrite pour le métropolite Anhellovyč

4 Ivan Vahylevyč parle dans son autobiographie de sa rencontre avec Leonovič. Voir: Ivan Franko, "Do biografiji Ivana Vahylevyča," *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva im. Ševčenka*, t. 79, L'viv, 1907, p. 116.

5 Voir les lettres d'Ivan Vahylevyč de 1843 à 1845 dans: *Pis'ma k M. P. Pogodinu iz slavjanskix zemel' (1835–1861)*, t. 3, Moscou, 1880, p. 641–648.

etc., dans des notes faites à cette époque mais publiées seulement 40 ans après.[6]

En 1850 encore, un autre savant ukrainien avait fait à Halyč la connaissance de Leonovič. Il s'agit d'Antin Petruševyč (1821–1913), historien et philologue, membre de quatre académies des sciences (en particulier membre honoraire de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences à Saint-Pétersbourg). Leonovič lui fournit le texte du colofon en hébreu (que Petruševyč connaissait) et sa traduction polonaise. Ces matériaux — dont le texte hébreu possède de toute évidence une valeur particulière — sont pour le moment introuvables dans le riche fonds d'archives du savant (à L'viv dans la Bibliothèque Scientifique de l'Académie des Sciences et aux Archives Centrales Historiques d'État de la République socialiste soviétique d'Ukraine, ainsi qu'à Léningrad à la Bibliothèque de l'Académie des Sciences de l'URSS). Cet inconvénient est compensé toutefois par la publication du colofon que Petruševyč a effectuée en 1854 en insérant sa traduction russe et son commentaire très critique dans son article "Peresmotr gramot knjazju L'vu pripisyvaemyx" (inséré dans le recueil *Galickij istoričeskij sbornik,* t. 2, L'viv, 1854, p. 173–176).

Dans son interprétation du colofon karaïte, Antin Petruševyč a commis une erreur malheureuse. Il a identifié le colofon avec la charte, ce qui est inadmissible du point de vue méthodologique, et a envisagé le colofon à partir des mêmes positions critiques que pour l'analyse d'autres chartes du prince Lev que l'on datait de la première moitié du XIII^e^ siècle au début du XIV^e^ siècle, chartes qu'il a d'ailleurs reconnues comme étant des faux et cela avec raison vu sous l'angle de la diplomatique. Envisageant le colofon comme un document juridique de type charte royale, Petruševyč a totalement nié la valeur du colofon en tant que source historique; il a déclaré que c'était un faux fait dans la première moitié du XIX^e^ siècle et a traité de "fable karaïte" tous les renseignements qui s'y trouvaient.

Étant donné que l'opinion de Petruševyč a joué de son temps un rôle décisif dans l'interprétation du colofon comme source historique, il devient nécessaire de lui attribuer quelque valeur, en particulier aussi pour mieux se rendre compte du mauvais fondement de la plupart de ses reproches. En commentant le colofon Petruševyč a porté son attention, à juste titre d'ailleurs, sur le fait que le compte des années selon l'hégire ne

[6] E. [Omeljan] L[evyc'kyj], "Neskol'ko narodnyx predanij o Galiče," *Slovo,* L'viv, 1879, no. 6, p. 1; du même auteur, "Ešče o Galiče i ego okresnostjax (Iz zapisok)," *Slovo,* 1885, no. 5, p. 2.

coïncide pas avec le compte des années à partir de la création du monde ainsi qu'avec la naissance du Christ; que Danylo est faussement nommé roi de Croatie; que le fils de Danylo ne possédait pas le titre de grand-prince; que les Tatars n'avaient pas de roi; que Danylo ne fut couronné roi qu'en 1253. Il a bien rectifié le nom du temple Lel-Polel par lequel "il faut entendre — selon lui — l'ancienne église Saint-Pantélémon et l'actuelle église Saint-Stanislas près de Halyč." Il a précisé que le Temple (*kenesa*) dans la rue Rus'ka [Ruthène] est "l'actuelle église de la Nativité du Christ." Petruševyč a bien découvert l'anachronisme contenu dans la mention qu'on aurait fait construire pour les Karaïtes une maison en face du palais royal, dans la rue Rus'ka. Si l'on interprète à la lettre le passage correspondant du colofon, il advient en effet que "les Karaïtes sont venus à Halyč à l'époque où les Ruthènes n'occupaient plus qu'une seule rue nommée [en leur nom] Rus'ka et que les autres parties de la ville étaient déjà occupées par la nation dominante, les Polonais."

En soumettant à la critique d'autres passages du colofon, Petruševyč se fondait sur la science historique de son temps et sur certaines idées, personnelles et subjectives. Ainsi, abordant la question du traité de 1243 entre le prince Danylo et Batou, il signalait que "Danylo avait mené les pourparlers avec Batou pas avant 1246, et encore en qualité de prince et non de roi, lors de son séjour à l'Horda." Nous savons aujourd'hui (voir plus loin pour les détails) que le prince Danylo était réellement entré en pourparlers en 1243 avec les Tatars, or Petruševyč ne pouvait pas encore connaître ces données en 1854.

Il était d'avis que les Karaïtes n'avaient pu prendre les terres entre la Lukva et le Dniestr et que l'apparition de la mention correspondante dans le colofon venait de ce que "le falsificateur ignorait que ces terres faisaient partie de la ville de Halyč au-delà de la Lukva, actuellement le village de Zalukva, ce dont témoignent les décombres qui s'y trouvent encore de nos jours." Nous savons aujourd'hui que Petruševyč avait absolument mal localisé l'emplacement de l'ancienne capitale. Cela a été prouvé de façon définitive par les recherches archéologiques effectuées presque un siècle plus tard.[7]

Comme nous allons le voir plus bas, on ne peut non plus donner raison aux affirmations tranchantes de Petruševyč, qui avançait que la mention de l'évêque Petro était liée à ce que "Leonowicz avait tiré le nom de ce haut

[7] Voir: Jaroslav Pasternak, *Staryj Halyč: Arxeolohični doslidy u 1850–1943 rr.*, Cracovie–L'viv, 1944, notamment p. 50. Les comptes rendus des recherches récentes dans: *Arxeolohija Ukrajins'koji RSR*, t. 3, Kiev, 1975, p. 222–229; le plan se trouve à la p. 223 (le texte est de V. K. Hončarov).

ecclésiastique de la préface au catalogue du clergé de l'archidiocèse gréco-catholique de L'viv, [or] il s'agissait de l'archevêque Petro." Petruševyč, sans raisons suffisantes pour cela, expliquait le nom du prince Vas'ko par l'analogie avec "monsieur Vas'ko, témoin dans les chartes falsifiées de Lev."

La conclusion définitive tirée par Petruševyč fut très sévère. Ne tenant pas compte de ce qu'il avait affaire à un colofon manuscrit (c'est-à-dire à une source de genre narratif) et non à une charte (c'est-à-dire à un document possédant une valeur juridique), il citait le colofon comme étant "encore une nouvelle charte falsifiée, écrite à ce qu'il paraît sur l'exemple des chartes de Lev... un récit gratuit sur la première arrivée des Karaïtes à Halyč." Il lui semblait même avoir découvert le falsificateur. Selon lui, il s'agissait de Leonovič, et "la raison même de la composition de ce récit inventé d'après une prétendue charte de Danylo était que Leonovič avait voulu prouver que les Karaïtes étaient d'anciens habitants de Halyč, qu'ils avaient obtenu des princes ruthènes le droit de vendre des boissons alcoolisées et qu'ils possédaient depuis longtemps des biens à Halyč."

L'attitude négative de Petruševyč envers le colofon s'est manifestée dans d'autres ouvrages. Étudiant l'histoire de Halyč, il mentionnait trente ans plus tard "l'inconsistante légende karaïte sur leur [prétendue] arrivée dans ces lieux déjà à l'époque du prince Danylo Romanovyč."[8]

Une troisième publication du colofon a vu le jour, et cela grâce au journaliste et historien amateur polonais Stanisław Kunasiewicz (1842–1879) qui avait inséré dans l'étude *Przechadzki archeologiczne po Lwowie*, fasc. 2–3, L'viv, 1876 (p. 122–124) le colofon en question avec les remarques de Leonovič. Le texte polonais avait été tiré du manuscrit No. 1 1252 déjà mentionné plus haut. Stanisław Kunasiewicz avait imprimé le colofon sans en donner de commentaire; il ignorait l'existence des deux publications précédentes.

La triple publication du colofon pourrait témoigner en faveur du grand intérêt que son texte avait suscité. En réalité, il n'en fut pas ainsi. Les données du colofon ne furent utilisées (tant au sens positif que négatif) que par un nombre très restreint d'historiens. La plupart des investigateurs de l'histoire ethnologique des Karaïtes les ignorait.

L'opinion que l'arrivée des Karaïtes dans les terres de l'Etat de Galicie-Volynie date de l'époque du roi Danylo (à la base des publications de Denys Zubryc'kyj) a été partagée par l'orientaliste et ethnographe

[8] A. S. Petruševič (Petruševyč), "Arxeologičeskie naxodki bliz goroda Galiča," *Vestnik Narodnogo doma*, L'viv, 1883, no. 4, p. 36.

ukrainien Franc Dombrovs'kyj (mort en 1866),[9] et par la suite elle a été soutenue par le savant autrichien Johann-Vinzenz Goehlert.[10]

A la fin du XIX^e^ siècle, après que N. M. Litewski eut publié en 1893 dans la revue "Ha-Maggid" à Lyck une lettre d'Eliš Leonovič de Halyč adressée au savant karaïte connu Abraham Firkovič (1785–1874) contenant des données du colofon,[11] certains ouvrages de vulgarisation scientifique et de publicistes reprirent le thème de l'émigration des Karaïtes de Crimée à l'époque du règne de Danylo.

L'affirmation d'une telle émigration en Ruthénie au milieu du XIII^e^ siècle a été popularisée, entre autres, par l'homme de lettres juif Reuben Fahn (1878–1939) dans toute une série d'articles, d'essais et de livres consacrés aux Karaïtes de Halyč, parmi lesquels il avait vécu pendant quelque temps.[12] Les idées de Fahn furent accueillies au début du XX^e^ siècle comme quelque chose de nouveau tellement les publications du colofon faites par Zubryc'kyi, Petruševyč et Kunasiewicz avaient été déjà oubliées.

En rapport avec les publications de Litewski et de Fahn, l'idée de l'arrivée des Karaïtes en Galicie au temps du roi Danylo fut soutenue dans les premiers ouvrages de l'historien et ethnographe ukrainien Bohdan Januš (Janusz, 1889–1930). Ce dernier datait l'arrivée des Karaïtes à Halyč aux environs de 1240, estimant qu'ils "auraient pu être les otages des Tatars ou bien, entretenant des rapports commerciaux avec Halyč, avaient profité du traité de paix pour se procurer des privilèges et s'installer à Halyč."[13] Januš avait pour adepte l'ethnographe ukrainien Volodymyr Hrebenjak (1893–1915).[14]

Après presque un demi-siècle de silence, la datation de l'émigration des Karaïtes de Crimée du milieu du XIII^e^ siècle fut reprise à nouveau sur les

9 F. Dombrovs'kyj, *Karaimy v Krymu,* Simferopol', 1848.

10 J. V. Goehlert, "Die Karaiten und Mennoniten in Galizien," *Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften,* t. 38, Vienne, 1862, p. 598.

11 Il ne nous a pas été donné de retrouver la revue "Ha-Maggid" de l'année 1893. Nous citons d'après Bohdan Janusz (Januš), "Gmina karaicka w Haliczu," *Na ziemi naszej,* L'viv, 1911, no. 5, p. 5, et R. Fahn, "Aus dem Leben der Karaiten," *Ost und West,* Berlin, 1912, no. 1, p. 67.

12 Voir du moins les ouvrages suivants: R. Fahn, *Miḥaje ha-Karaim: Skizzen und Typen aus dem Leben der Karaiten,* Halyč-Drohobyč, 1908; la réimpression ultérieure (sans indication de date) à Berlin; *Legenden der Karaiten,* Vienne, 1921 et autres, ainsi que quelques articles dont l'histoire des Karaïtes en Galicie in *Ha-Kedem,* Saint-Pétersbourg, 1910 (non disponible); voir aussi l'ouvrage cité à la note 11.

13 Janusz, "Gmina karaicka," p. 6; voir aussi ses "Ostatni z Mohikanów galicyjskich," *Świat,* Varsovie, 1912, no. 16, p. 9.

14 Volodymyr Hrebenjak, "Karajims'ka oselja v Halyči," *Ilustrovana Ukrajina,* L'viv, 1913, no. 21–22, p. 16.

pages des éditions scientifiques. Le savant karaïte Simeon Szyszman (Šyšman), se basant sur la publication de Kunasiewicz, a remarqué que les Karaïtes de Halyč datent la fondation de leur communauté en 1246.[15] L'orientaliste et historien ukrainien, professeur à l'Université de Harvard, Omeljan Pritsak a avancé l'hypothèse selon laquelle le début de l'ère karaïte à Halyč (qu'il date de 1254) "peut correspondre à l'époque de l'adoption de la religion quelque part dans les steppes ukrainiennes."[16]

Il est possible d'ajouter quelques autres noms à la liste des auteurs (et de leurs oeuvres) qui adoptaient l'idée, appuyée par le colofon, de l'arrivée des Karaïtes en Ruthénie au milieu du XIII^e siècle. Pourtant cela ne modifierait pas l'impression générale que le colofon n'a attiré l'attention que de quelques chercheurs. La plupart des historiens passaient tout simplement les données du colofon sous silence, sans même daigner en faire l'analyse ou bien en ignorant bel et bien son existence; ils répétaient en stéréotype des données prétendues élaborées une fois pour toutes (encore au début du XIX^e siècle) sur ce que les Karaïtes se seraient établis en Lituanie, en Pologne et en Ukraine de la fin du XIV^e siècle au début du XV^e, et que leur apparition dans ces lieux serait liée à l'activité du Grand Prince de Lituanie Vytautas (Vitovt, d. 1430). Si étonnant que cela puisse paraître, le colofon n'a jamais fait l'objet de recherches pour les historiens de l'État de Galicie-Volynie, bien que les renseignements qu'il renferme méritent d'être étudiés.

C'est l'essai intitulé "Des Juifs et des Karaïtes" de l'historien et économiste polonais Tadeusz Czacki (1765–1813), édité à Vilnius en 1807 et reédité par la suite, qui a exercé une influence réellement fatale et pour ainsi dire galvanisante sur les opinions des savants. Ecrit à partir d'une documentation limitée, dans un esprit d'apologie de la politique du Grand Prince Vytautas et de légèreté envers les sources et les traditions karaïtes, l'essai de Czacki laisse néanmoins une empreinte sensible sur les études karaïtes. Les hypothèses avancées par l'auteur se transmettaient comme des faits prouvés et étaient répétées presque sans changements par des dizaines d'auteurs polonais, russes, ukrainiens, juifs et même karaïtes. Ces hypothèses trouvent un soutien considérable encore de nos jours. On peut citer comme un fait curieux l'association du nom de Vytautas à l'apparition des colonies karaïtes à Halyč et à Lviv, bien que ces villes n'aient jamais été sous la domination d'un Grand-prince lituanien, ce qui

[15] S. Szyszman, "Die Karäer in Ost-Mitteleuropa," *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung*, Marburg, 1957, no. 1, p. 29.
[16] Omeljan Pritsak, "Das Karaïmische," *Philologiae Turcicae fundamenta*, t. 1, Wiesbaden, 1959, p. 328.

d'ailleurs était noté par des auteurs plus critiques, tel que Maximilien-Ernest Gumplowicz (1864–1897)[17] ou bien Januš[18] et Szyszman[19] que nous avons déjà mentionnés. (Nous nous proposons de consacrer un article spécial sur le problème de l'authenticité de la prétendue légende de Vytautas.)

En outre, il faut prendre en considération que l'historiographie polonaise du XIX[e] siècle et de la première moitié du XX[e] siècle propageait l'idée qu'avant l'annexion de la Galicie par la Pologne (pour la première fois en 1349 et définitivement en 1387), ces terres étaient quasi désertiques et n'auraient été peuplées que grâce aux mesures entreprises par les rois et les magnats polonais. Il devient clair qu'une telle approche "apriorique" du problème de l'immigration des Karaïtes ne laissait aucune place aux études sur la question de l'arrivée des Karaïtes en Galicie à l'époque pré-polonaise. D'ailleurs, après l'ouvrage de Czacki, l'historiographie polonaise n'a jamais été en état de présenter une étude originale du problème.

L'autorité scientifique de Petruševyč, lequel datait l'arrivée des Karaïtes à Halyč d'abord "probablement déjà au XIV[e] siècle" et plus tard "à la fin du XIV[e] ou même au début du XV[e] siècle,"[20] avait exercé une forte influence sur l'historiographie ukrainienne et russe. Januš fut le seul à tenter une révision des vues déjà établies, et cela seulement dans ses premiers ouvrages.

Pour l'historiographie juive, qui vers la fin du XIX[e] siècle et dans la première moitié du XX[e], formait ses vues totalement sous l'impression de la polémique ardente engagée sur les débuts des colonies karaïtes en Crimée, l'idée de l'émigration des Karaïtes de Crimée en Ruthénie vers le milieu du XIII[e] siècle s'avéra inacceptable. Un rôle semblable à celui qu'avait joué Harkavy en Russie revint à l'historien et professeur de l'Université de Varsovie (qui fut d'ailleurs un investigateur de renom de l'histoire ethnique des Juifs d'Ukraine et de Pologne) Mayer-Samuel Balaban (1877–1942), en ce qui concerne l'Ukraine occidentale. Il datait définitivement l'arrivée des Karaïtes en Galicie au XV[e] siècle.[21] Reuben

17 M. Gumplowicz, *Początki religii żydowskiej w Polsce*, Varsovie, 1903, p. 5–6.

18 B. Janusz, "Z dziejów Karaitów galicyjskich," *Gazeta Kościelna*, Ľviv, 1911, no. 31, p. 383; du même auteur, "Nieznany lud w Galicji," *Gazeta Ludowa*, Ľviv, 1912, no. 6, p. 10; no. 10, p. 8; du même auteur, "Ostatni z Mohikanów halickich," *Gazeta Wieczorna*, Ľviv, 1916, no. 2847, p. 3–4.

19 S. Szyszman, "Zamek najeziorny w Trokach i jego obrońcy," *Pamiętnik Wileński*, Londres, 1972, p. 384–385.

20 A. Petruševič, "O galickix episkopax so vremeni učreždenija galickoj èparxii daže do konca XIII veka," *Galickij istoričeskij sbornik*, t. 2, Ľviv, 1854, p. 125; du même auteur, "Arxeologičeskie naxodki," p. 36.

21 M. Balaban, "Do dziejów karaickich (Okruchy historyczne)," *Na ziemi naszej*,

Fahn, qui d'ailleurs n'était pas historien, n'eut pas d'adeptes pour le problème en question.

Si étonnant que cela puisse paraître, les savants karaïtes mêmes traitaient à la légère la question des débuts des colonies karaïtes en Ruthénie. Les tentatives de Leonovič pour lever le voile sur le passé n'eurent pas d'écho justement dans les milieux karaïtes. Dans l'étude monographique la plus récente, réalisée par le membre de l'Académie des Sciences Polonaise Ananiasz Zajączkowski (1903–1970),[22] la question sur les débuts des colonies karaïtes en Galicie est passée sous silence. Ce n'est que Szyszman qui tâche de raviver dans ses articles la discussion autour des dates 1243 et 1246.

Un tel état de choses dans l'histoire ethnique des Karaïtes paraît être la conséquence de toute une suite d'affirmations émanant d'ouvrages historiques, ethnographiques et linguistiques ukrainiens et russes; les plus récents avancent, par exemple, que "sur le territoire de Lituanie et d'Ukraine, les Karaïtes vinrent s'installer vers la fin du XIV^e^ siècle et au début du XV^e^,"[23] ou bien que "vers la fin du XIV^e^ siècle un groupe de Karaïtes (en qualité de prisonniers des princes lituaniens) arriva [. . .] dans les régions ouest d'Ukraine occupées par la Lituanie,"[24] ou bien même que "des Karaïtes s'installèrent à Halyč et à Kukyziv au XVI^e^ siècle,"[25] etc.

Plus de 120 ans se sont écoulés depuis que Petruševyč a procédé à une analyse scientifique — la seule, bien qu'imparfaite — du colofon karaïte de Halyč. Ses conclusions étaient dans une grande mesure dictées par des opinions subjectives sur l'histoire de Halyč, lesquelles furent réfutées plus tard par des témoignages archéologiques et historiques convaincants. Il est grandement temps de refaire une analyse du colofon. Le but d'une telle analyse est de répondre à la question s'il n'y a pas en effet de données authentiques possédant une valeur tant pour l'étude de l'histoire ethnique des Karaïtes que pour celle de l'histoire de l'Etat de Galicie-Volynie.

L'viv, 1910, no. 10, p. 76; du même auteur, "Karaici w Polsce," dans son livre *Studia historyczne*, Varsovie, 1927, p. 56.

22 A. Zajączkowski, *Karaims in Poland: History, Language, Folklore, Science*, Varsovie–La Haye–Paris, 1961.

23 K. M. Musaev, "Karaimskij jazyk," dans le livre *Jazyki narodov SSSR*, t. 2, Moscou, 1966, p. 260.

24 V. I. Naul'ko, *Razvitie mežètničeskix svjazej na Ukraine: Istoriko-ètnografičeskij očerk*, Kiev, 1975, p. 60.

25 S. I. Kopčak, *Naselennja ukrajins'koho Prykarpattja (Istoryko-demohrafičnyj narys): Dokapitalistyčnyj period*, L'viv, 1974, p. 68.

Notre analyse a été effectuée selon le plan suivant:

1. La datation du colofon;
2. L'auteur du colofon (chemin faisant il sera question de savoir s'il ne s'agit pas en effet d'un texte falsifié de la première moitié du XIXe siècle);
3. Stratification du texte du colofon ainsi que son origine;
4. Les données du colofon à la lumière d'autres sources;
5. Autres témoignages karaïtes sur l'émigration au XIIIe siècle;
6. Importance du colofon en tant que source historique.

1. La datation du colofon

Le texte original du colofon ne contenait pas de date indiquant son apparition. Petruševyč accusait Leonovič d'avoir lui-même composé le texte (autrement dit, lors des années 30 du XIXe siècle). D'autre part, le mérite qu'il faut reconnaître à Petruševyč est d'avoir été le premier à relever la non-correspondance entre le système chronologique de l'hégire et les deux autres, mais, hélas, il n'a pu en tirer aucune conclusion.

Le colofon contient les dates de deux événements. La première relate les pourparlers entre Danylo et Batou, qui ont eu lieu en 5003 à partir de la création du monde selon le calendrier judaïque luno-solaire, ce qui correspondrait à 1243 après Jésus Christ d'après le calendrier solaire (la soi-disant ère de Dionisius Exiguus), et à 655 de l'hégire du calendrier lunaire musulman. La seconde date concerne le départ des Karaïtes de Crimée, qui aurait eu lieu en 5006 d'après le calendrier judaïque, en 1246 après Jésus Christ et en 658 d'après l'hégire.

La confrontation des dates prouve que l'auteur anonyme du colofon a bien gardé la corrélation des années entre le calendrier judaïque et le calendrier chrétien (le compte se faisait évidemment à partir de la création du monde), mais n'a pu le faire d'après l'hégire. En effet, l'année 1243 correspond à 640/1 de l'hégire, et 1246 à 643/4 du calendrier musulman; d'autre part, l'an 655 de l'hégire c'est l'an 1257 après Jésus Christ, et respectivement 658 = 1259/60. La raison de ces erreurs est simple: l'auteur du colofon croyait que le compte des années de l'hégire se faisait d'après le système solaire. Un simple calcul prouve que l'auteur du colofon liait 1700 après Jésus Christ à 1112 de l'hégire (or, l'année 1112 de l'hégire a commencé de fait le 18 juin 1700). C'est à partir de ce moment chronologique qu'il a amorcé son compte erroné.

Il s'ensuit que la seule conclusion possible est que le colofon a été écrit l'année même où commence le calcul erroné de l'hégire, c'est-à-dire en 1700 après Jésus Christ. Puisqu'une telle combinaison de dates peut elle

seule élucider le compte erroné des années de l'hégire, l'affirmation de Petruševyč que le colofon aurait été écrit aux XIX[e] siècle a perdu son sens.

La localisation à Halyč de la composition du colofon ne laisse aucun doute.

2. L'auteur du colofon

Le colofon ne fait non seulement aucune mention de la date de son apparition (que l'on peut, comme on l'a vu, reconstituer avec assez de précision), mais il ne dit rien sur son auteur. Tenant compte du lieu de la composition du colofon, il faut chercher l'auteur parmi les représentants instruits de la colonie karaïte vivant à Halyč à la fin du XVII[e] siècle.

Les recherches faites sur le passé de cette colonie amènent à penser que l'auteur du colofon pourrait être le savant karaïte connu Yosef ben Samuel ḥazzan ben Isaak, que l'on connaît encore sous le nom de Yosef ha-Mašbir ("celui que fournit le pain"; Genèse 42:6) et qui en 1700 finissait ses jours à Halyč.

Yosef ha-Mašbir est une figure si connue qu'on ne saurait s'attarder davantage; il suffira de souligner que, d'après ses connaissances et sa situation dans la colonie karaïte, il était le seul à pouvoir faire des inscriptions dans l'ancien livre de prières parcheminé apporté de Crimée.

Yosef est né dans le village ukrainien de Deražnja. Ses jeunes années se sont écoulées dans la famille du ḥakham Nisan, installée à Kukyziv (Krasnyj Ostriv), autre ville où il y avait une colonie karaïte. Nisan l'élevait avec son fils (cadet de Yosef) qui devint lui aussi un savant en vue — Mordekhay ben Nisan ha-Saken, plus connu sous le nom de Mordekhay Kukizov. Aux environs de 1670, Yosef partit vivre avec son frère à Halyč où il réforma la colonie karaïte et où il écrivit des ouvrages sur des thèmes théologiques, religieux, philosophiques et philologiques. C'était aussi un poète. Yosef écrivait non seulement en ancien hébreu, mais aussi en karaïte (il a traduit des psaumes). Cet homme mourut à Halyč le 26 tevet (Janvier) 1700;[26] son tombeau, ainsi que sa pierre tumulaire, se trouvaient dans cette ville encore avant la première guerre mondiale.[27/28]

Les œuvres de Yosef ha-Mašbir, publiées partiellement sous forme imprimée, font preuve qu'il s'agissait d'une personne très instruite et dont

[26] La date est tirée de J. Fürst, *Geschichte des Karäerthums . . .*, [t. 3] Leipzig, 1869, p. 86, où elle est mentionnée d'après l'œuvre de Mordekhay Kukizov, connue sous le nom de "Dod Mordekhay."

[27/28] B. Janusz, *Karaici w Polsce*, Cracovie, 1927, p. 85–86; il y a à la page 41 une reproduction photographique de la pierre tumulaire.

les intérêts étaient divers. Il ne quitta la plume que pour mourir, et c'est pour cette raison que son livre intitulé "Ner ha-Ḥokhmah" — 'La lumière de la sagesse' (commentaire aux prières) n'a pas été terminé. Il n'y a aucun doute que Yosef connaissait mieux que tous les savants karaïtes de la seconde moitié du XVII^e siècle l'histoire des colonies karaïtes en Galicie. L'épisode suivant en servira de témoignage.

En 1638 le savant hollandais Jacob Trigland (1583–1654), professeur de l'Université de Leyde, s'était adressé par lettre au ḥakham en Lituanie, le priant de lui fournir des renseignements sur les Karaïtes, en particulier sur leur passé. Cette lettre arriva à Luc'k et Mordekhay en eut connaissance. Passant au cours d'un voyage par les lieux où résidaient les colonies karaïtes en Ukraine, il entreprit de répondre à la lettre de Trigland et termina sa lettre-réponse le 18 juillet 1639.

N'ayant pas obtenu tout de suite de réponse à sa lettre, Jacob Trigland en écrivit une autre en 1639, et l'envoya à Žovkva (actuellement Nesterov dans la région de L'viv en Ukraine). En 1640, il obtint une réponse, probablement écrite par Mordekhay. C'est ainsi qu'apparut l'ouvrage *Dod Mordekhay* (publié pour la première fois à Hambourg en 1714) contenant des renseignements historiques sur les Karaïtes. Il y a plus d'une raison de considérer Yosef ha-Mašbir comme étant réellement le coauteur des lettres-réponses de Mordekhay. La première réponse, celle de 1639, a été écrite par Mordekhay après sa rencontre avec Yosef à Halyč où il l'avait rejoint exprès de Loutsk.

L'intérêt qu'ont montré les savants de l'Europe occidentale dans la deuxième moitié du XVII^e siècle pour les Karaïtes, et les tentatives de lier des contacts directs avec eux, ont sans aucun doute contribué à ranimer l'intérêt pour leur passé chez les savants karaïtes d'Ukraine, de Pologne et de Lituanie. C'est ainsi qu'apparut le *Dod Mordekhay,* c'est cette même atmosphère qui incita la création du colofon à Halyč en 1700.

A notre avis, toutes ces circonstances parlent en faveur de Yosef ha-Mašbir comme auteur du colofon.

Il a été dit plus haut que Petruševyč considérait que Leonovič avait falsifié le colofon. Même une analyse superficielle du colofon prouve le mauvais fondement d'une telle accusation: Leonovič ne pouvait pas être l'auteur d'une falsification car, en écrivant le colofon dans les années 1830 il aurait bien calculé les années de l'hégire (il y avait pour cela une littérature requise); ou bien, au contraire, il aurait fait le compte des années de l'hégire en partant d'une année qui lui était contemporaine selon le système chronologique solaire. D'autre part, l'auteur du colofon avait à sa disposition des données que Leonovič n'aurait pu trouver dans la

littérature historique de son temps (sur les pourparlers de 1243). L'auteur du colofon savait qu'à la place du village de Zalukva il y avait autrefois des champs et non les ruines de Halyč (comme le pensait Petruševyč); il avait mentionné le nom de l'évêque Petro et non pas celui d'un archevêque de même nom, comme l'aurait sans doute fait Leonovič s'il avait utilisé les catalogues de l'archidiocèse ukraino-catholique de Ľviv (il n'y était question que de l'archevêque Petro, et encore d'une autre date). Il est encore très douteux que Leonovič aurait parlé de l'église Saint-Pantélémon (la conjecture de Petruševyč est bien juste ici) comme d'un fantastique "Lelom-polelom." Il est évident que Leonovič avait des difficultés d'ordre paléographique dans le déchiffrement du nom de l'église dans le texte en ancien hébreu, nom qui était déjà oublié dans la première moitié du XIX^e^ siècle (comme on le sait incontestablement par la littérature).[29]

3. Stratification du texte du colofon et ses sources

En écrivant le colofon sur les pages d'un ancien livre de prières, Yosef ha-Mašbir (que nous considérons comme l'auteur du colofon) a rassemblé les renseignements essentiels sur les Karaïtes de Halyč qu'il a réussi à trouver en 1700 dans les documents, dans les notices et dans la tradition orale. Yosef était, ne l'oublions pas, un homme de son temps qui formulait les renseignements qu'il avait recueillis non pas d'après les principes de la critique historique qu'il ne pouvait connaître, mais selon des opinions quelque peu déformées et embellies sur le passé de la colonie de Halyč. Le fait qu'il n'était pas un pédant rigide, mais une personne de grande imagination possédant des opinions bien fondées, peut être par exemple démontré, du moins dans ses traductions des psaumes en langue karaïte où il ne s'en tenait pas littéralement au texte de l'original en ancien hébreu, mais changeait le sens des psaumes dans l'esprit de ses opinions gnosticistes.[30]

Voilà pourquoi le texte de son colofon n'est aucunement un texte de charte du XIII^e^ siècle (comme le voulait entendre Petruševyč), ni une étude historique critique, mais est une compilation de renseignements datant de différentes époques et provenant de différentes sources et dont

[29] Voir, par exemple, A. Petruševič, *Istoričeskoe izvestie o cerkvi sv. Pantalejmona bliz goroda Galiča, teper' kostele sv. Stanislava oo. Franciškanov, jako drevnejšem pamjatnike romanskogo zodčestva na Galickoj Rusi s pervoj poloviny XIII stoletija,* Ľviv, 1881.

[30] Jan Grzegorzewski, "Caraimica. Język Łach-Karaitów: Narzecze południowe (Łucko-halickie)," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny,* t. 1, pt. 2, Cracovie, 1916–1918, p. 270–272, 280.

le but principal était de transmettre aux générations futures des fragments du passé de la colonie karaïte, d'un passé qui touche non seulement les Karaïtes mêmes, mais qui a suscité l'intérêt des savants occidentaux pour un petit peuple, pour sa religion et pour son passé. Les motifs patriotiques de la création du colofon sont hors de doute. Sont également hors de doute différentes superstructures relatives à l'époque et qui donnent lieu de parler d'une stratification singulière du colofon.

En publiant au début la traduction du colofon, nous l'avons divisée par convention en sept parties:

I. Introduction contenant une définition du but du colofon ("pour les générations à venir");

II.a. Le traité de paix signé entre Danylo et Batou en 5003 = 1243 en présence du fils de Danylo Lev et de son frère Vas'ko;

b. Batou donne l'autorisation à une centaine de Karaïtes d'abandonner la Crimée et de s'installer à Halyč;

c. Danylo s'engage à prendre les Karaïtes à sa charge dès l'instant où il auront franchi la frontière tatare-ruthène, il leur fait construire des maisons à Halyč et leur prête assistance dans l'entretien des liens commerciaux avec l'Orient;

III. Batou annonce en Crimée la permission pour les Karaïtes d'émigrer en terre de Galicie, l'émigration devant s'effectuer aux frais des Tatars et des Ruthènes;

IV. Quatre-vingts familles karaïtes en provenance de Solxat, Mangup Caffa et d'autres villes de Crimée décident de quitter la Crimée.

V. Le départ des Karaïtes de Crimée en 5006 = 1246; le transport réalisé au compte des Tatars et des Ruthènes;

VI.a. L'accueil des Karaïtes par Danylo;

b. La construction des maisons à leur intention dans la rue Rus'ka près du château;

c. L'attribution d'une place pour leur cimetière au bord de la Čev en face de l'église Saint-Pantélémon;

d. Le don de 100 grivnas à chaque Karaïte;

e. L'accord d'un privilège aux Karaïtes pour un libre commerce en Ruthénie et la permission de vendre différentes boissons;

f. L'attribution des terres aux Karaïtes sur une colline qui sépare la Lukva du Dniestr.

VII. Danylo, son frère Vas'ko et l'évêque Petro signent un privilège aux Karaïtes.

Une telle analyse de la teneur du colofon prouve une fois de plus les tendances patriotiques de son auteur. Sous cet éclairage, les Karaïtes

passent pour l'un des objectifs principaux des pourparlers de 1243; ils sont sollicités par les Tatars et par les Ruthènes et ont obtenu des privilèges ainsi qu'une position respectée dans la société médiévale encore au milieu du XIII^e siècle grâce à la protection du roi Danylo. Le passé des Karaïtes est couvert d'une auréole romantique alors que la réalité du milieu du XIII^e siècle — période des dévastations tatares — fut, de toute évidence, très éloignée du tableau idéal peint par l'auteur du colofon.

Au nombre des anachronismes qui ne pouvaient refléter la situation du XIII^e siècle, mais qui, au contraire, découlaient des conditions contemporaines à l'auteur (deuxième moitié du XVII^e siècle), il faut compter les renseignements sur la résidence des Karaïtes à Halyč dans la rue Rus'ka (VI.b), sur l'emplacement du cimetière (VI.c), sur la permission de vendre des boissons (VI.e), sur les lopins de terre karaïtes (VI.f) et sur la frontière tataro-ruthène (II.c, III, V). C'est la réalité du XVII^e siècle qui constitue la source de ces renseignements.

Par suite d'une idéalisation romantique de la situation au milieu du XIII^e siècle, les renseignements sur l'émigration en Galicie des Karaïtes de Crimée effectuée aux frais des Tatars et des Ruthènes (II.c, III, V) et sur la construction des maisons au compte de Danylo (VI.a) passèrent pour réels. De tels renseignements auraient pu être le résultat des raisonnements logistiques de l'auteur, fondés probablement sur la tradition orale des Karaïtes, vivante jusqu'alors.

En résultat des représentations traditionnelles karaïtes de Halyč, nous sommes enclins à considérer l'émigration de Crimée comme une émigration ayant pour destination exceptionnellement la ville de Halyč et non pas la contrée qui tient son nom de son centre principal — la ville de Halyč, autrement dit, la Galicie (Halyčyna). Si l'interprétation du but de l'émigration est basée sur des notes écrites, la confusion entre les noms ivrites de Halyč et de Halyčyna (Galicie) dans le premier texte est plus que probable, d'autant plus que ce dernier ne comportait pas de signes de ponctuation.

Le colofon laisse également apparaître que son auteur était un érudit de la littérature historique. Le fait d'avoir donné à Danylo le titre de roi à une époque où il ne l'était pas encore et en particulier de roi de Croatie (II.a), ce qui correspondait à la conception des auteurs du XVII^e siècle sur le passé de la Galicie pendant la période pré-polonaise, peut en témoigner.

Nous sommes d'avis que le noyau le plus ancien — et en même temps authentique dans les grandes lignes — des renseignements émanant du colofon sont: les données sur les pourparlers de 5003 = 1243 (II.a), sur l'absence d'obstacles de la part des Tatars en ce qui concerne leur émi-

gration de la Crimée en Ruthénie (II.b, III), sur le départ des familles karaïtes de Solxat, de Mangup et de Caffa en 5006 = 1246 (IV, V), sur l'aide matérielle octroyée aux émigrés (VI.d), sur la permission d'exercer le commerce avec l'Orient (II.c, VI.e) ainsi que sur les personnages qui ont joué un rôle ou un autre dans l'émigration des Karaïtes (les princes Danylo, Vasyl'ko, Lev, l'évêque Petro, le Khan Batou; II.a, VII).

Il est clair que tous ces renseignements ne sont pas non plus exempts d'idéalisation romantique (par ex., celui des 100 grivnas d'argent donnés soi-disant à chacun des émigrés). La cause probable en est la tradition orale de la communauté karaïte et de quelques familles mises à part, dans des chroniques écrites où sont marquées les dates 5003 et 5006. Directement ou indirectement, tous ces renseignements peuvent être contrôlés à l'aide de sources non-karaïtes, ce que nous allons entreprendre plus loin.

Les données chiffrées figurant dans les sources orientales médiévales prêtent, non sans raison, à méfiance. Et cela surtout à cause de leur hyperbolisation. Dans notre cas, les chiffres (100 ou 80 familles, II.b, IV) peuvent convaincre par leur insignifiance. Ils pourraient cacher des données authentiques conservées dans les traditions orales de la communauté et des familles. Il n'existe cependant aucune source permettant d'en contrôler la véracité.

Le renseignement sur l'attribution aux Karaïtes de la charte de Danylo prête à discussion (VII).

4. Les données du colofon à la lumière d'autres sources

Dans le problème de la datation et du caractère de l'émigration karaïte de Crimée au milieu du XIII^{e} siècle, il importe par principe de démontrer l'authenticité du plus ancien noyau de base de l'information du colofon. La confrontation de diverses informations avec les données de différentes sources appartenant à une autre catégorie linguistique et à un autre genre — même dans celles où il n'est pas question de Karaïtes — peut servir à confirmer l'authenticité du noyau principal de l'information.

Les pourparlers de 5003 (1243). C'est en décembre (voire en novembre) de 1240 que les Mongolo-Tatars s'emparèrent sous le commandement de Batou de la plus grande cité de la Ruthénie, de son principal centre économique et culturel, la capitale princière — Kiev, et qu'ils la détruisirent. Lors de la campagne militaire de l'hiver de 1240–41, maintes grandes villes ruthènes succombèrent; plusieurs d'entre elles furent entièrement détruites, de sorte que la vie citadine ne s'y renouvela plus. A la suite d'un siège qui avait duré trois jours, apparemment au début de l'année 1241, les

Tatars prirent d'assaut la capitale princière de Halyč. Après avoir traversé les Carpates, ils défirent le 11 avril 1241 les armées alliées de Hongrie et de Croatie. Au printemps de 1242, les troupes armées de Batou regagnèrent les steppes du bord de la Mer Noire (ou même celles de la Volga) après avoir traversé les terres du Danube, de la Galicie et de la Kiévie.

La chronique de Galicie-Volynie, qui constitue la seule source ruthène traitant de l'époque et du territoire en question (et ce faisant encore non sans confusion de dates et non sans passer sous silence les événements des années 1240), dit qu'en 6751 (1243) "à Danylo qui se trouvait à Xolm vint son Coman nommé Aktaj (Aktay) qui dit que Batou était rentré de Hongrie et avait envoyé à toi deux preux, Manman et Baal, pour te trouver. Danylo a fermé [les portes de] Xolm et est parti voir son frère Vasyl'ko après avoir emmené avec lui le métropolite Kurylo. Les Tatars bataillaient à Volodava et dans les environs des lacs; ils faisaient beaucoup de mal."[31]

La chronique ne dit pas si Danylo, le plus puissant des princes ruthènes de l'époque, avait eu une entrevue avec Batou en 1243, lequel avait envoyé deux de ses chefs pour le trouver; ce n'est que deux ans plus tard qu'elle fait mention du voyage du prince, qui est allé voir Batou dans son quartier général sur la Volga en hiver 1245. (Ce voyage du prince Danylo trouve son écho dans les sources occidentales: dans les mémoires de Giovanni Piano del Carpini, qui avait alors eu un entretien avec Danylo et Batou.) La chronique ne dit pas si c'était la première rencontre du prince avec Batou.

D'autre part, les sources hongroises de 1244 témoignent qu'en 1243 pourtant, il y a eu un autre (premier?) voyage du prince Danylo dans le but de voir "le prince des Tatars," parce que cette rencontre a été relatée par Danylo à l'ambassadeur du roi hongrois Béla IV (1235–1270) Nicolaus filius Obichk de Zyud. Dans une charte du roi datant du 22 avril 1244, il est question des mérites de ce gentilhomme: "Ad partes Ruscie, et ad partes Bulgarie in nostra legatione profectus ab illustrissimo duce Danela, qui Tartarorum princip visitato ad propria rediens, universum statum Tartarorum prout viderat et cognoverat, edisserendum nobis promiserat, stili officio conditum reprotavit."[32]

Ce passage de la charte de Béla IV fut pour la première fois signalé à

[31] *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej*, t. 2, 2ᵉ éd., éd. par Aleksej A. Šaxmatov, Saint-Pétersbourg, 1908 (reprint Moscou, 1962), col. 795.

[32] *Codex diplomaticus patrius Hungaricus (Hazai okmánytár)*, t. 4, Győr, 1867, p. 29; *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus (Árpádkori új okmánytár)*, ed. G. Wenzel, t. 7 (= Monumenta Hungariae historica, ser. 1, t. 12), Pest, 1869, p. 164.

l'attention par l'historien ukrainien et professeur de l'Université de Ľviv M. Hruševs'kyj. Notant à juste titre qu'il ne s'agissait pas ici de la rencontre du prince Danylo avec Batou pendant l'hiver de 1245/46, il n'a pas porté son attention cependant sur le renseignement de la chronique concernant l'année 1243 où Batou cherchait déjà à ce moment-là une entrevue avec le prince. M. Hruševs'kyj avançait l'idée (d'ailleurs hypothétique) que Danylo aurait pu rencontrer "l'un des chefs de troupes, comme c'était le cas avec Mogučyj."[33] L'historien russe contemporain V. Pašuto est d'avis (d'après la même source hongroise) que le périple du prince Danylo pour l'Horde d'Or ne constituait pas sa première rencontre diplomatique avec les Tataro-Mongols,[34] mais il ne développe pas son idée.

Il est à noter que la source hongroise n'est pas si irréprochable qu'on le croirait au premier abord. Dans l'historiographie hongroise, l'authenticité de la charte de 1244 a été maintes fois mise en doute. M. Wertner a relevé des contradictions dans la datation de la charte et a proposé la date 1254 (dans ce cas il y serait question du voyage de Danylo chez Batou dans les années 1245–1246).[35] J. Karácsonyi tenait cette charte tout simplement pour fausse, à cause de la confusion dans les dates, de la fausse titularisation du roi et pour d'autres raisons encore.[36]

Cette même opinion était partagée par I. Szentpétery qui notait cependant que, déjà en 1281, on approuvait l'authenticité de la charte. L'expertise de 1296 approuvait, elle aussi, cette authenticité.[37] Gy. Pauler était pour l'authenticité de la charte, mais en admettant un écart de deux années dans la date.[38]

Comme on sait (et c'est le point de vue de la science moderne des études de sources), le doute sur l'authenticité d'une charte, pour ce qui est d'une approche diplomatique plus restreinte, n'exclut pas l'élément véridique du moins d'une partie de ses renseignements. Selon nous, en ce qui concerne la charte de 1244, peuvent résister à la critique historique du point

33 M. Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy*, t. 3, 2e éd., Ľviv, 1905, p. 66.
34 Vladimir Pašuto, *Očerki po istorii Galicko-Volynskoj Rusi*, Moscou, 1950, p. 236.
35 M. Wertner, "Die Regierung Béla's des Vierten. Nach urkundlichen Quellen bearbeitet," *Ungarische Revue*, t. 13, Budapest, 1893, p. 380. Cet auteur eut pour adepte Władysław Abraham dans l'étude *Powstanie organizacyi kościoła łacińskiego na Rusi*, t. 1, Ľviv, 1904, p. 125.
36 J. Karácsonyi, *A hamis, hibáskeltű és keltezetlen oklevelek jegyzéke 1400-ig*, Budapest, 1902, p. 16.
37 I. Szentpétery, *Az Árpádházi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke*, t. 1, Budapest, 1923, p. 228.
38 Gy. Pauler, *A magyar nemzet története az Árpádházi királyok korában*, t. 2, Budapest, 1899, p. 520.

de vue de la science des études de sources non seulement le moment principal de la charte, c'est-à-dire l'attribution du droit de possession à Nicolaus Koarzeg, fils d'Obichk de Zyud (ce fait a été prouvé lors de l'expertise de 1296), mais aussi la mention sur la rencontre de Danylo avec le chef d'armée tatar qui a eu lieu avant 1244. Même s'il y avait eu un voyage ultérieur de Nicolaus chez le prince Danylo, lié peut-être au mariage de Lev, fils de Danylo, avec Constance, fille de Béla IV (selon toute probabilité, leur mariage aurait eu lieu dans les années 1247–1248 tout de suite après le retour de Danylo de son voyage en Orient), le falsificateur aurait autrement honoré le nom de Danylo — c'est-à-dire avec plus de chaleur — non pas illustrissimus dux (comme dans la charte de 1244), mais du moins comme dans la charte de Béla IV de 1251 (N 955 chez I. Szentpétery) où Danylo est mentionné comme dilectus cognatus noster Daniel illustrus dux Ruthenorum.

Il faut croire que le premier texte authentique de la charte de 1244, qui contenait des renseignements véridiques (par exemple, sur la rencontre de Danylo avec le chef d'armée tatar), a été par la suite modifié par l'adjonction de détails faux liés aux conditions de la propriété foncière; ceci se produisait d'une manière naturelle lors de l'interpolation des chartes de ce type. Autrement dit, l'élément suspect ou faux de la charte 1244 ce n'est pas, selon nous, la date même (1244) et le renseignement sur la rencontre de Danylo avec le chef tatar avant 1244.

Les données du colofon complètent, selon nous, les renseignements provenant de sources ruthènes et hongroises. Il s'ensuit que sous la poussée d'une nouvelle campagne tatare dirigée en 1243 par Manman et Baal sur les terres de Galicie-Volynie (Stepan Tomašivs'kyj avançait subjectivement une autre date dans la chronique: 1244; Evgenij Golubinskij et Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj argumentaient plus sérieusement l'année 1242), le prince Danylo se serait vu forcé à une entrevue proposée par Batou. La rencontre eut lieu en 1243. A la suite des pourparlers le prince Danylo signa avec les Tatars un traité de paix qui lui était fortement nécessaire non seulement pour assurer ses terres contre les incursions dévastatrices des Tatars et reconstruire les villes et les villages détruits, mais aussi pour avoir les mains libres afin de faire définitivement justice au prétendant au trône de Galicie, le prince Rostyslav Myxajlovyč (le futur ban de Maczwa). En effet, les événements des deux années suivantes (1244–1245) témoignent de ce que le Prince Danylo se trouvant en guerre avec Rostyslav (c'est Danylo qui avait remporté la victoire sur Rostyslav le 17 août 1245 près de Jaroslav lequel s'était appuyé sur l'aide des troupes hongroises), comptait s'assurer ses arrières à l'Est pour éviter une attaque inattendue des Tatars.

On peut croire que lors des pourparlers de 1243, le prince Danylo avait obtenu de Batou l'assurance que celui-ci n'empêcherait pas la reconstruction des villes ruinées par les Tatars et c'est alors qu'émergea la question des émigrés devant quitter les terres envahies par les Tatars, entre autres celles de Crimée (qui se trouvaient alors sous la dépendance directe des Tatars). Le prince pouvait compter sur ce qu'il y aurait des marchands et des artisans actifs tels que les Karaïtes parmi les émigrés pour les villes de la Galicie dévastée.

Il serait de mise de mentionner ici que la tradition locale juive de Galicie (malgré les aggravations périodiques des relations judéo-karaïtes) ne contredisait pas en principe la tradition sur l'émigration des Karaïtes à la suite des pourparlers Danylo-Batou, mais accordait à cette tradition une coloration railleuse et méprisante. Ruben Fahn, que nous avons déjà mentionné, avait inscrit au début du XX^e^ siècle une légende juive racontant que le prince de Galicie aurait fait cadeau au Khan tatar d'un couple de chiens de race en échange de Karaïtes.[39] Voilà pourquoi les juifs de Halyč en parlant des Karaïtes disaient qu'ils valaient "le prix de chiens" ("suchir kalew"). Ils se peut que les racines de cette tradition touchent un passé lointain. Pour établir une analogie on pourrait rappeler que les rabbanites surnommaient encore au XII^e^ siècle les Karaïtes de chiens.[40]

Pour clore l'excursion sur les pourparlers Danylo-Batou, il faut souligner qu'en critiquant l'authenticité des données du colofon, Anton Petruševyč avait tort en affirmant que les pourparlers en question eurent lieu pour la première fois en 1246. Il avait tort aussi en disant qu'en 1243 le prince Lev était encore trop jeune pour prendre part à de tels pourparlers. Le prince Danylo s'était marié en 1219, son fils Lev naquit en tous les cas avant 1228[41] et se maria avec Constance, la fille du roi de Hongrie Béla IV, dans les années 1247–1248. En outre, le prince Danylo avait une raison valable pour emmener avec lui aux pourparlers avec un ennemi perfide deux représentants de sa famille: son frère et son fils.

La politique colonisatrice du prince Danylo. Les vagues dévastatrices tatares des années 1240–1243 avaient laissé en Ruthénie des localités en feu et en ruines. Les exigences de la reconstruction de l'Etat de Galicie-Volynie mettaient au premier plan la tâche de rétablir la vie économique et culturelle des villes et d'en faire des centres d'activité commerciale et

39 Janusz, *Z dziejów Karaitów*, p. 383; du même auteur, *Nieznany lud*, no. 10, p. 8; du même auteur, *Ostatni z Mohikanów*, p. 4; du même auteur, *Karaici w Polsce*, p. 17.

40 S. Szyszman, "Où la conversion du roi khazar Bulan a-t-elle eu lieu?," *Hommages à André Dupont-Sommer*, Paris, 1971, p. 525.

41 Nicholas de Baumgarten, *Généalogies et mariages occidentaux des Rurikides russes du X^e^ au XIII^e^ siècles*, Rome, 1927 (reprint 1962), p. 47, 49.

artisanale ainsi que des places fortes contre des incursions tatares (mais non seulement tatares) possibles. La politique consciente du prince Danylo était dans ce sens connue: il avait fondé quelques villes nouvelles et en avait reconstruit et fortifié d'autres déjà existantes. Il soutenait la colonisation urbaine exercée par de nouveaux venus — des représentants d'autres nations, voire celles qui se trouvaient directement sous la dépendance des Tatars. La chronique donne sur ce point l'appréciation suivante de l'activité du prince Danylo, en parlant de la construction en 1259 de l'église Saint-Jean à Xolm:

> Ceci a vu le prince Danylo qui se mit à appeler [les gens] dans ce lieu agréable à Dieu. Des Allemands et des Ruthènes y vinrent; vinrent [aussi] de jour en jour des gens parlant d'autres langues et des Lakhs. Des apprentis et leur maîtres arrivèrent des contrées envahies par les Tatars de même que des selliers, des faiseurs d'arcs et de carquois, des forgerons sur fer, sur cuivre et sur argent. Et la vie revint, les foyers se peuplèrent, les faubourgs, les labours et les villages.[42]

Le passage cité se passe de commentaire. Le chroniqueur contemporain du prince note que l'Etat de Galicie-Volynie accueillait au milieu du XIII^e siècle des colons de différentes nationalités et religions, parmi lesquels on comptait des ressortissants des terres occupées par les Tatars. Furent les bienvenus surtout ceux qui exerçaient une profession utile. En conséquence, l'atmosphère qui régnait dans le pays au temps du prince Danylo ne pouvait que contribuer à l'émigration des Karaïtes de la Crimée qui se vit tomber sous une domination tatare pénible et troublée. On peut admettre que les Tatars eux-mêmes, à la suite de rapports de bon voisinage (bien que parfois aggravés, surtout après que Danylo eut cherché un appui auprès du pape de Rome afin de se défaire de la "tutelle" tatare), ne dressaient pas d'obstacles particuliers à une telle émigration. Et même, à voir de près le passage de la chronique que l'on vient de citer, on ne peut nier que parmi les gens qui parlaient les langues étrangères et allaient quotidiennement en ville, parmi les maîtres artisans et leurs apprentis qui fuyaient les terre occupées par les Tatars, il y avait des Karaïtes. Le colofon est la preuve qu'en effet il y en avait.

Le départ des émigrés de Crimée en 1246. A la suite d'une politique extérieure heureuse du prince Danylo (victoire en 1245 sur le prétendant au trône le prince Rostyslav, liquidation de la menace d'une intervention hongroise et polonaise, confirmation du pouvoir princier en hiver 1245–1246 par le Khan Batou) et d'une politique intérieure non moins réussie (écrasement de l'opposition des boyards), l'Etat de Galicie-

[42] *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej,* t. 2, éd. 2, col. 843.

Volynie connut une période de repos et de stabilisation. A partir de 1246, l'Etat de Danylo pouvait en réalité constituer une force attractive qui stimulait l'affluence de colons tant de l'Occident que de l'Orient. L'année 1246 qui figure dans le colofon comme la date de l'émigration karaïte de Crimée est en parfait accord avec le développement général des événements: c'est à partir de cette année que le prince aurait pu accorder sa tutelle aux émigrés (y compris les Karaïtes), ce qu'il a fait de toute évidence.

Les Tatars firent pour la première fois leur apparition en Crimée lors de la prise de Saldaïa (Sudak). En 1239, ils envahirent définitivement la steppe Kiptchake du littoral de la Mer Noire en étendant leur domination sur la Crimée, où ils organisaient périodiquement des pillages de villes (en 1238, 1239, 1242 et aussi aux environs de 1249) auxquelles ils imposèrent des contributions. Il faut croire qu'à cette époque il y eut en Crimée un gouverneur général tatar, bien que la première mention sur lui ne date que de l'année 1263. Les premières décennies de la domination tatare en Crimée ont apporté la décadence de la vie citadine et une émigration intense de la péninsule vers des contrées mieux organisées socialement et économiquement.

La présence au XIII^e^ siècle de communautés karaïtes en Crimée ne peut donner lieu à suspicion même chez les historiens anti-karaïtes les plus zélés (Albert Harkavy et ses partisans). Le voyageur juif Petachia de Regensburg rencontra en 1180 des adeptes du Karaïsme parmi des nomades kiptchaks qui à cette époque (comme on le sait d'après des études récentes) avaient déjà atteint un niveau de développement paléo-féodal, avaient leurs propres villes et contrôlaient de grandes centres artisanaux et économiques en Crimée.[43]

Le colofon cite trois villes d'où seraient partis les Karaïtes: Solxat, Mangup et Caffa. Bien que les historiens ne soient pas en possession de données qui prouveraient la présence des Karaïtes dans ces villes précisément en 1246, l'existence de communautés karaïtes dans celles-ci prête à peine à suspicion.

C'est à Solxat en particulier (le futur Krym, et l'actuel Staryj Krym) qu'il y avait un ancien cimetière Karaïte où Abraham Firkovič aurait vu des pierres tombales portant des inscriptions de dates: 910, 944, 1059,

[43] S. A. Pletneva, *Poloveckie kamennye izvajanija* (= Arxeologija SSSR: Svod arxeologičeskix istočnikov, no. E4–2), Moscou, 1974; du même auteur, "Poloveckaja zemlja," dans le recueil *Drevnerusskie knjažestva X–XIII vv.*, Moscou, 1975, p. 260–300.

1089 et 1104.[44] Actuellement il est impossible de vérifier ces renseignements à cause de la destruction barbare du cimetière à la fin du XIX^e^ siècle.[45] A Solxat, aux environs de 1250,[46] est né l'illustre représentant du Karaïsme Aron ben Yosef surnommé "le premier" (mort peu avant 1320), auteur de l'œuvre polémique intitulée "Mibḥar" qui lui a donné le nom de Ba'al ha-Mibḥar ('l'auteur d'œuvres choisies') et le hacham des Karaïtes (en 1279) résidant à Solxat.

Mangup (alias Theodoro; actuellement localité inhabitée) était au XIII^e^ siècle la capitale d'une petite principauté gréco-gothique indépendante. La ville-capitale même constituait un centre artisanal et économique considérable où l'existence d'une communauté karaïte est indubitable.[47] Les fouilles du cimetière karaïte à Mangup durent jusqu'à nos jours. La plus ancienne plaque tombale date de 1274.[48]

Caffa (la Feodosija actuelle) était au milieu du XIII^e^ siècle une petite localité gréco-alane qui ne devint factorerie gênoise qu'aux environs de 1266 et qui atteignit bientôt un grand épanouissement. Les traditions de la communauté karaïte de Caffa, qui y avait subsisté plusieurs siècles jusqu'aux temps les plus récents, dataient encore de l'époque pré-gênoise.

Que la Crimée fut le point de départ pour l'émigration en Ruthénie en général ne peut être mis en doute. Le passé des trois villes de la Crimée médiévale, Solxat, Mangup et Caffa, ne contredit pas l'opinion que cette émigration du milieu du XIII^e^ siècle ait pu partir exclusivement de ces villes et peut-être même d'autres localités.

Ces raisonnements ne sont pas les seuls à soutenir l'authenticité des

[44] A. I. Markevič, "O staro-krymskoj sinagoge kak predmet spora mězdu evrejami i karaimami," *Izvestija Tavričeskoj učenoj arxivnoj komissii*, no. 34, Simferopol', 1902, p. 45. Pour ce qui est de l'importance de l'épigraphique karaïte en tant que source historique voir: S. Szyszman, "Les inscriptions funéraires découvertes par Abraham Firkowicz," *Journal Asiatique*, Paris, 1975, p. 231–264.

[45] Sur le reste du cimetière voir: Vasilij Smirnov, "Arxeologičeskaja èkskursija v Krym letom 1886 goda," *Zapiski vostočnogo otdelenija imperatorskogo Russkogo arxeologičeskogo obščestva*, t. 1, Saint-Pétersbourg, 1887, fasc. 4, p. 284; M. K. Starokadomskaja, "Solxat i Kaffa v XIII–XIV vv.," dans le recueil *Feodal'naja Tavrida: Materialy po istorii i arxeologii Kryma*, Kiev, 1974, p. 166.

[46] J. Markon dans *Jüdisches Lexikon*, t. 1, Berlin, 1927, col. 168–169, situe la date de naissance d'Aron dans les environs de 1260. Or dans ce cas, il est difficile d'admettre son poste de hacham en 1279. C'est pourquoi nous acceptons la date approximative de 1250 comme le fait J. Fürst dans *Geschichte des Karäerthums*, [t. 2] Leipzig, 1867, p. 238–239.

[47] A. L. Jakobson, *Srednevekovyj Krym: Očerki istorii i istorii material'noj kul'tury*, Moscou–Léningrad, 1964, p. 127.

[48] P. Keppen, *Krymskij sbornik: O drevnostjax južnogo berega Kryma i gor tavričeskix*, Saint-Pétersbourg, 1837, p. 29; *Arxeolohija Ukrajins'koji RSR*, t. 3, Kiev, 1975, p. 460 (l'auteur du paragraphe respectif est Je. V. Vejmarn).

données du colofon. Bien que la méthode par analogie ne soit pas la meilleure dans les études historiques et ethnographiques, il faut souligner toutefois qu'une tradition analogique à l'émigration de Crimée en Ruthénie danylienne s'est conservée (et a été notée non pas à la fin du XVII^e^ siècle, comme c'est le cas du colofon, mais plus tôt, dans la deuxième moitié du XVI^e^ siècle) dans un autre groupe ethnique de l'Ukraine médiévale — chez les Arméniens. On a déjà consacré quelques études détaillées à l'analyse de cette tradition;[49] c'est pourquoi je me bornerai à en exposer les données principales complétées par les résultats des recherches les plus récentes.

Dans l'historiographie de l'époque initiale de l'existence des colonies arméniennes en Ruthénie, il n'existe pas d'autre problème plus litigieux que celui de l'authenticité de la prétendue charte du prince Fedor Dmytrovyč de 1062. C'est en se fondant sur ce document qu'à partir de 1578 du moins (comme nous l'avons établi — la date de la remise de ladite charte au roi polonais Etienne Bathory) les Arméniens des villes d'Ukraine prouvaient leur arrivée en Ruthénie, en particulier à L'viv, à l'époque prépolonaise, c'est-à-dire avant 1349. Cette charte, écrite en langue ukrainienne, était considérée par la chancellerie royale polonaise comme authentique; malgré cela, nous avons affaire à un document falsifié du XVI^e^ siècle, fabriqué en rapport avec les persécutions religieuses et économiques des Arméniens de L'viv. Les oppressions étaient fondées sur la thèse du magistrat de la ville suivant laquelle les Arméniens se seraient installés à L'viv après l'instauration du pouvoir polonais dans la ville; c'est pourquoi ils ne pouvaient jouir du statut d'autochtones. A l'aide de la charte falsifiée (ceci est établi d'une manière probante par l'inexistence au XI^e^ siècle et plus tard d'un prince régnant du nom de Fedor Dmytrovyč qui aurait invité les Arméniens en Ruthénie), la communauté arménienne a réussi à prouver devant l'administration royale ce qui au fond s'était avéré tout à faire véridique: son arrivée en Ruthénie avant l'invasion mongole.

Comme on le sait, la diplomatique moderne en tant que science historique spéciale ne se borne pas dans ses études à établir seulement la falsification d'une charte et à découvrir les causes d'une telle falsification;

[49] Ja. R. Daškevyč, "Hramota Fedora Dmytrovyča: Narys z ukrajins'koji dyplomatyky," *Naukovo-informacijnyj bjuleten' Arxivnoho upravlinnja URSR,* Kiev, 1962, no. 4, p. 9–20; du même auteur, "Kamjanec'-Podils'kyj u virmens'kyx dželerax XIV–XV st.," *Arxivy Ukrajiny,* Kiev, 1970, no. 5, p. 61–62; du même auteur, "Les Arméniens à Kiev (jusqu'à 1240): Première partie," *Revue des Études Arméniennes,* n.s., t. 10, Paris, 1973–1974, p. 341–356.

elle cherche aussi à déceler les éléments de vérité historique cachés dans la falsification et dans ses interprétations.

Une telle approche de la prétendue charte du prince Fedor Dmytrovyč apporte quelques surprises. Il a été établi que le futur archevêque catholique de Lviv J. D. Solikowski (en 1578 il était régent de la chancellerie royale), présent lorsque les Arméniens lvoviens ont remis la charte au roi polonais en 1578, considérait cette dernière comme étant un document provenant des mains . . . du prince Danylo. Selon un mémorial de l'archevêque écrit en 1597 lors d'un nouveau conflit entre Arméniens et Polonais, les premiers ont de nouveau "montré une vieille petite missive de Danylo Fedorovyč,[50] la même [qu'ils avaient présentée] à sa majesté le roi Etienne."[51]

A cette occasion, il serait utile de mentionner encore un très étrange concours de circonstances. En 1578 le roi de Pologne avait non seulement accordé de grandes libertés aux Arméniens de Lviv (comme nous le savons déjà, il l'avait fait partant de la prétendue charte ruthène tenue pour celle du prince Danylo),[52] mais il avait aussi conféré un autre privilège pour les Karaïtes (pro Judaeis Caraimis) de Halyč.[53] Il en ressort qu'au cours de la même année la chancellerie royale aurait eu doublement affaire à la tradition de l'arrivée en Ruthénie de deux groupes ethniques (Karaïtes et Arméniens) à peu près à la même époque (celle du prince Danylo).

Solikowski n'était pas le seul à avoir associé l'arrivée des Arméniens à Lviv au nom du prince Danylo. Le premier historien de Lviv, le savant allemand J. Alnpek, écrivait dans les années 1603–1605 dans sa "Topographia civitatis Leopolitanae" que les Arméniens avaient été invités en Ruthénie par le prince Danylo afin de les engager entre autre dans ses armées.[54] Alnpek même était un chercheur sérieux qui étudiait scrupuleusement les sources (ses extraits des divers documents en témoignent) et, ses fonctions dans la magistrature de la ville aidant, il avait plus d'une occasion de faire connaissance avec la communauté armeniénne et ses traditions. A cette époque l'étude de Alnpek avait été publiée partielle-

[50] En réalité le prince de Galicie, plus tard roi, portait le nom de Danylo Romanovyč.

[51] Archives historiques centrales d'Etat de la RSS d'Ukraine à Lviv, f. 52, inv. 1, dossier 136, feuille 248–249.

[52] Pour le texte voir: F. Bischoff, *Urkunden zur Geschichte der Armenier in Lemberg,* Vienne, 1865, p. 79–81.

[53] Pour le texte voir: J. V. Goehlert, "Die Karaiten und Mennoniten in Galizien," p. 599.

[54] La publication de l'ouvrage de J. Alnpek se trouve dans le livre de S. Rachwał, *Jan Alnpek i jego "Opis miasta Lwowa" z początku XVII w.,* Lviv, 1930.

ment (il y était quand même mention de l'invitation des Arméniens par le prince Danylo) dans un recueil très populaire, sorte d'album contenant des descriptions des villes du monde, de G. Braun (Bruin)[55] et depuis ce temps-là, la datation de la colonisation arménienne à l'époque du prince Danylo est entrée fermement dans la littérature historique et géographique du XVII[e] siècle[56] et des siècles suivants, sans susciter d'ailleurs d'objections sérieuses dans l'historiographie des XIX[e] et XX[e] siècles.

La prétendue charte du prince Fedor Dmytrovyč n'est pas que le reflet d'une tradition bien vivante au XVI[e] siècle sur l'arrivée des Arméniens à L'viv au temps du prince Danylo; c'est aussi la répercussion des informations sur l'arrivée des Arméniens de Crimée. Le fait est que la charte était adressée aux Arméniens de Solxat. Dans une traduction latine malhabile de 1641, la charte s'adressait aux "Kosohacensibus Armenis." Comme l'a encore établi D. Myxal's'kyj au XIX[e] siècle (et plus tard Petruševyč, I. Lynnyčenko et Hruševs'kyj), il y avait dans le texte original ukrainien "ko solxackim armenom," c'est-à-dire "Solhacensibus Armenis," ce qui correspond pleinement aux particularités paléographiques des textes ukrainiens du XVI[e] siècle et aux réalités historiques. Solxat était alors un centre arménien considérable en Crimée et il se peut même que son nom vienne de l'appellation d'un monastère arménien — Surb Xač ('Sainte Croix'), situé dans les parages.

Ainsi, il faut accepter l'affirmation que la tradition arménienne notée dans la seconde moitié du XVI[e] siècle indique aussi la même source (Solxat) et la même époque (règne du prince Danylo) pour l'émigration que le colofon. Il devient évident que l'année 1246 doit être prise non seulement comme l'année de l'émigration karaïte de Crimée en Galicie-Volynie, mais également comme celle des Arméniens en provenance, eux aussi, de Crimée.

Afin d'appuyer notre thèse qui pourrait paraître affectée, nous voudrions attirer l'attention sur quelques témoignages d'ordre linguistique. Les analogies entre l'émigration karaïte et arménienne ne se situent pas seulement dans le plan chronologique et géographique. Il existe beaucoup de preuves de la turcophonie des Arméniens de Crimée (bien que les documents les plus anciens de leur langue parlée, notés déjà en Ukraine, ne

[55] G. Braun, *Theatri praecipuarum totius mundi urbium liber sextus*, Coloniae Agrippinae, 1617, N 49.

[56] M. Zeiller, *Newe Beschreibung dess Königreichs Polen und Grosshertzogthumbs Lithauen . . . ,* Ulm, 1647, p. 138; A. Cellarius, *Regni Poloniae, Magnique ducatus Lithuaniae, omniumque regionum iuri Polonico subiectorum novissima descriptio. . . ,* Amstelodami, 1659, p. 317.

datent que de la première moitié du XVIe siècle). Jusqu'à présent une étude comparative détaillée de la langue des documents écrits en arméno-kiptchak et en karaïte (aussi du XVIe siècle) fait défaut, surtout pour ce qui est de la langue du Codex Cumanicus (XIVe siècle) d'origine criméenne. Malgré cela, de nombreuses publications linguistiques des dernières décennies concernant surtout la kiptchako-arménistique et aussi la karaïmistique (où, il est vrai, les études historiques et linguistiques sont loin d'être abondantes) parlent en faveur de l'apparenté des deux langues kiptchakes, de celle qui était en usage chez les Arméniens turcophones d'Ukraine de la fin du XVIIe siècle et de celle que parlaient et parlent les soi-disants Karaïtes occidentaux de nos jours. L'apparenté des deux langues a attiré dans son temps l'attention du turcologue polonais, le professeur ordinaire de l'Université du Cracovie et membre de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences, Tadeusz Kowalski.[57] Les études ultérieures ont brillamment confirmé ses thèses. L'hypothèse la plus attrayante serait d'admettre que les Arméniens et les Karaïtes de Crimée ont apporté avec eux une seule langue parlée: le kiptchak, qui constituait peut-être une étape plus avancée dans le développement de la langue (voire des dialectes) du Codex Cumanicus. Dans de nouvelles conditions en Ruthénie, le développement d'une seule langue ancienne avait bifurqué en donnant le karaïte occidental, d'une part, et l'arméno-kiptchak, d'autre part, connus tous les deux d'après les documents du XVIe siècle. Ce schéma théorique idéal exige encore la mise en valeur d'un matériel linguistique concret. D'autre part, les données que nous avons à notre disposition ne contredisent pas la thèse selon laquelle les ancêtres qui parlaient le karaïte occidental et l'arméno-kiptchak du XVIe siècle ont quitté à peu près à la même époque le territoire où était en usage le kiptchak parlé.

En faisant le point sur l'émigration de la Crimée en 1246, il est à noter que celle-ci a pris de l'ampleur presque en même temps vers la Galicie-Volynie et a touché au moins deux groupes ethniques: les Karaïtes et les Arméniens.

La charte du prince Danylo pour les Karaïtes et ses témoins: l'évěque Petro. La chronique de la principauté de Galicie-Volynie nous a fait parvenir des données sur le chef de la chancellerie du prince Danylo, le chancellier-pečatnyk selon la nomenclature de l'époque. C'était un certain Kurylo (Cyrille) qui, outre son poste de chancellier, assumait aussi des fonctions militaires voire même diplomatiques. Il est connu que le prince Danylo menait une correspondance étendue non seulement avec

[57] T. Kowalski, *Karaimische Texte im Dialekt von Troki*, Cracovie, 1929, p. LXVII.

des Etats voisins, mais également avec ceux qui étaient plus éloignés: des documents respectifs ressortant de la chancellerie du prince en font preuve.[58]

L'activité "intérieure" de la chancellerie est beaucoup moins connue; il n'est pas clair par exemple si les octrois princiers exigeaient un témoignage écrit sous forme de charte ou si une déclaration orale du prince en présence de témoins suffisait. Au fond, le renseignement du colofon concernant la charte de Danylo sur la concession octroyée au Karaïtes constitue le seul témoignage sur un document de ce type datant du milieu du XIIIe siècle.

L'élucidation du problème de la charte du prince Danylo dépend dans une certaine mesure de cet éclaircissement, à savoir s'il existait des chartes authentiques avec octroi en provenance de la chancellerie princière de son fils Lev (dates de règne: 1264 à 1301). Nous avons des renseignements sur une centaine de chartes du même type, écrites "par la main" de ce prince. A notre avis, il serait difficile de considérer toutes ces chartes comme étant falsifiées (comme le faisait à son époque Hruševs'kyj),[59] d'autant plus qu'un grand nombre de ces dernières ont été reconfirmées par les rois polonais plusieurs dizaines d'années après la mort du prince Lev. Si la question de l'authenticité des chartes du prince Lev trouve une réponse positive décisive, cela permettra de voir l'affaire de la charte attribuée aux Karaïtes par son père et prédécesseur le prince Danylo sous un aspect plus solide.

Une chose est claire: en 1700 l'auteur du colofon n'était plus en possession de la charte du prince Danylo, autrement il n'aurait pas mis dans le colofon des anachronismes évidents (sur la résidence de Karaïtes dans la rue Rus'ka, sur la vente des boissons, etc.) en faisant allusion à ce que ces octrois figuraient dans la charte.

D'autre part, le nombre des témoins qui auraient signé la charte (le prince Vasyl'ko et l'évêque Petro) donne à penser que des renseignements authentiques concernant les événements de 5006 (1246) constitueraient la base de la charte. Il est possible que ces noms se soient conservés dans des anciens écrit karaïtes, car leur association est réellement exceptionnelle par leur authenticité. Vasyl'ko (Basile, 1203–1269) le frère de Danylo, était prince de Volynie de 1230 à 1269. L'évêque (l'archevêque) Petro

[58] Voir Pašuto, *Očerki po istorii Galicko-Volynskoj Rusi*, p. 73.

[59] Pour la discussion autour des chartes du prince Lev, voir Ja. R. Daškevyč, "Stan ta zavdannja ukrajins'koji dyplomatyky" dans le recueil *Tretja respublikans'ka naukova konferencija z arxivoznavstva ta inšyx specialnyx istoryčnyx dyscyplin*, sect. 2, Kiev, 1968, p. 118–119.

avait joué un rôle manifeste au milieu du XIIIe siècle dans l'établissement des rapports diplomatiques et ecclésiastiques entre l'Etat de Galicie-Volynie et l'Europe occidentale, bien que la Chronique de Galicie-Volynie n'en eût fait aucune mention. En d'autres termes, il ne peut y avoir d'objections sérieuses contre le fait qu'en 1246, au moment de l'attribution par le prince Danylo de certains droits aux Karaïtes, étaient présents le prince Vasyl'ko et l'évêque Petro, le mystérieux évêque Petro "dont le nom a suscité des discussions interminables depuis plus d'un siècle et dont des traces mènent subitement au colofon karaïte."

Les sources occidentales ont conservé sur Petro des renseignements assez détaillés pour résister à n'importe quelle critique historique. L'archevêque Petro était le représentant de la Ruthénie en Italie et en France dans les années 1244 et 1245 et c'est lui qui avait prévenu l'Europe occidentale du danger tatar. Les renseignements sur l'archevêque Petro, sur ses contacts avec le pape Innocent IV (1243–1254) et sur sa participation au Concile de Lyon en 1245–1246 ont été conservés dans deux chroniques anglaises de l'époque: la "Chronica maiora" (ou "Historia maior") de Matthieu de Paris et la chronique monastique anonyme intitulée "Annales Burtonienses."[60] Le problème de l'identification de la personne de l'archevêque Petro a été traité dans un grand ouvrage de l'historien ukrainien S. Tomašivs'kyj,[61] dont bien des conclusions ne peuvent être soutenues. A la lumière des documents du XIIIe siècle, l'identification de l'archevêque Petro avec l'igoumène du monastère Kiévien du Saint Rédempteur (Spass) à Berestové paraît peu probante. Il en est de même pour l'identification de l'igoumène avec le boyard Petro Akerovyč.[62] Les

[60] *Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores, or Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages,* t. 1, Londres, 1864, pp. 271–275; t. 4, 1877, pp. 386–389; aussi *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores,* t. 27, Berlin, 1885, p. 474–475.

[61] S. Tomašivs'kyj, "Predteča Izydora: Petro Akerovyč, neznanyj mytropolyt rus'kyj (1241–1245)," *Zapysky Čyna sv. Vasylija Velykoho,* t. 2, fasc. 3–4, Žovkva, 1927, p. 221–313, 441–442; du même auteur, *Petro peršyj uniats'kyj mytropolyt Ukrajiny-Rusi: Istoryčnyj narys,* 2e éd., L'viv, 1928.

[62] C'est ce qu'a noté encore M. A. Taube, *Rim i Rus' v domongol'skij period (X–XIII vv.),* dans le recueil *Ex Oriente: Religiöse und philosophische Probleme des Ostens und des Westens,* Mayence–Wiesbaden, 1927, p. 193. Réponse de S. Tomašivs'kyj, "Bojaryn čy ihumen? (Pryčynky do pytannja pro osobu mytropolyta Petra Akerovyča)," *Zapysky Čyna sv. Vasylija Velykoho,* t. 3, Žovkva, 1928-1930, p. 171–178. L'identification igoumène = archevêque est mise sous un point d'interrogation dans l'article de V. Zajikyn, "Quelques notes sur la question de l'évangélisation de la Ruthénie Kiévienne (Russie Méridionale)," ibidem, t. 3, p. 746. La littérature sur l'archevêque Petro et les tentatives de son identification compte quelques dizaines de positions.

tentatives d'identification faites par Tomašivs'kyj reflètent la tendance de lier en un tout des renseignements sur différentes personnes de même nom, éparpillées dans les sources des XII^e^–XIV^e^ siècles; ceci en réalité mène à un appauvrissement de l'idée sur le nombre des hommes de la politique, de la culture et de l'Eglise vivant à cette époque. Il existe un argument anthroponymique original parlant contre l'identification de l'archevêque Petro avec le boyard (igoumène?) Petro Akerovyč. Le patronyme Akerovyč n'est manifestement pas d'origine slave, mais plutôt proche-orientale (syrienne?).[63] Il est difficile de faire concorder cela avec les renseignements d'une source occidentale qui dit que l'archevêque Petro ne possédait que sa langue maternelle et ne connaissait aucune langue occidentale ou orientale.

La petite mention faite dans le colofon sur l'évêque Petro consolide fondamentalement l'authenticité de son noyau informatif principal et ancien; il est tout bonnement difficile d'admettre le caractère fortuit de l'apparition du nom de Petro, autrement il ne faudrait voir dans le colofon qu'un entremêlement de contingences et de hasards qui pourtant cadrent admirablement avec les circonstances réelles. Mais aussi, elle apporte des détails fondamentaux dans l'éclaircissement du problème que pose la personne de Petro.

A son époque, Tomašivs'kyj estimait avec toute raison que "pour la discussion deux alternatives sont possibles: il y a derrière le nom de l'archevêque Petro le prince Danylo ou bien son adversaire Myxajlo."[64] Quelques chercheurs antérieurs (Tomašivs'kyj, Vladimir T. Pašuto et aussi Teofil Kostruba, par exemple)[65] estimaient que l'archevêque Petro était métropolite de Ruthénie, le partisan du prince mentionné Rostyslav Myxajlovyč et son père le prince. Après avoir accompli sa mission à l'Occident, Petro ne serait pas rentré, disent-ils, en Ruthénie, mais serait resté quelque part en Occident, en France ou bien en Croatie où régnait Rostyslav. Ces raisonnements ne se fondaient sur aucune source valable et allaient même à l'encontre de certains faits. En effet, la chronique connaît en 1243 un autre métropolite ruthène – Cyrile; le partisan du

[63] Vient involontairement à l'esprit l'analogie Akerovyč / / Akir de l' "Ecrit sur le sage Akir et son fils Anadan" (traduction en slave oriental datant du XI^e^ siècle). Le slave oriental *akir* / / arm. *xikar* 'sage, savant' < arabe *ḥaiqār*. (Voir: F. Müller, "Pahlawi, neupersische und armenische Etymologien," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, t. 8, 1894, p. 281; H. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, t. 1, Hildesheim–New York, 1972, p. 268).

[64] S. Tomašivs'kyj, "Odpowiedź panu Karolowi Maleczyńskiemu," *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, t. 42, L'viv, 1928, p. 149.

[65] T. Kostruba, *Narysy z cerkovnoji istoriji Ukrajiny X–XIII st.*, L'viv, 1939, p. 56.

prince Rostyslav était en réalité l'évêque de Halyč Artemij qui s'était sauvé devant Danylo en Hongrie. Les données du colofon témoignent de ce qu'en effet Petro, sa mission terminée — il avait établi des contacts entre Danylo et le pape de Rome,[66] ce qui avait trouvé son apogée dans l'attributation par le pape d'une couronne royale à Danylo en 1253 — était rentré en Ruthénie et en 1246 se trouvait auprès du prince Danylo. Il ne faut voir à notre avis aucune contradiction dans le fait que Petro jouissait à l'Occident du titre d'archevêque (et non de métropolite, nous le soulignons) et que le colofon le nommait évêque.

Si, d'une part, il est hors de doute que les premiers métropolites de Ruthénie, et parfois ceux qui l'ont été plus tard, se faisaient appeler archevêques (c'est ainsi que Tomašivs'kyj a construit l'identité de l'archevêque Petro comme étant métropolite de Ruthénie), d'autre part, on sait, par exemple, que les citoyens de Novgorod ont réussi à faire nommer leur évêque du même titre encore dans la période prémongole. Certains évêques galiciens auraient pu se faire nommer eux aussi archevêques. Les évêques de Halyč, et Petro pouvait bien l'être avec l'appui du prince Danylo, assumaient leur jurisdiction sur un si grand territoire que lors de son séjour en Occident, Petro pouvait y être désigné comme archevêque. Il aurait pu se donner ce titre pour souligner la valeur de sa mission d'ambassadeur. Après son retour en Galicie-Volynie, il n'y eut plus besoin d'un tel titre hypertrophié.

Finalement, il est tout à fait possible de retrouver la mention sur cet évêque (archevêque) de Galicie Petro dans le message connu du roi polonais Kazimierz III; dans ce message qui date de 1370 et qui est adressé au patriarche de Constantinople Filotheos, il est question de restituer le siège métropolitain en Galicie.[67] Il nous semble que ce "métropolite galicien Petro" (le second dans la liste des anciens métropolites — non datés dans leurs fonctions) est identifié sans raisons valables avec le métropolite ruthène St. Petro, mort en 1326.[68]

[66] Cette idée a été conséquemment discutée encore par Mykola Čubatyj dans son article "Zaxidna Ukrajina i Rym u XIII vici u svojix zmahannjax do cerkovnoji uniji," *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva im. Ševčenka*, t. 123–124, Ľviv, 1917, p. 37–38.

[67] *Acta patriarchatus Contantinopolitani 1315–1402 e codicibus manuscriptis Bibliothecae palatinae Vindobonesis*, ed. F. Miklosich et J. Müller, t. 1, Vindobonae, 1860, p. 577.

[68] Heinrich Gelzer (voir son article "Beiträge zur russischen Kirchengeschichte aus griechischen Quellen," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, t. 13, Gotha, 1892, p. 257, 260) était d'avis que le métropolite galicien Petro et le métropolite kiévien St. Petro étaient deux personnes différentes. A. S. Pavlov ne partageait pas cette opinion (voir son article "O načale galickoj i litovskoj mitropolij i o pervyx tamošnix mitropolitax po vizantijskim dokumental'nym istočnikam XIV v.," *Russkoe obozrenie*, t. 27,

La question qui se pose à propos de la charte établie par le prince Danylo pour les Karaïtes reste ouverte: les droits respectifs auraient pu leur être octroyés tant sous forme de charte qu'oralement. Il est toutefois hors de doute qu'il avait eu dans cet acte (écrit ou oral) des témoins en la personne du prince Vasyl'ko et de l'évêque (de Halyč?) Petro.

5. Autres témoignages karaïtes sur l'émigration du XIII[e] siècle

La méfiance envers l'idée même de l'émigration des Karaïtes de Crimée à destination de la Ruthénie de Galicie au milieu du XIII[e] siècle fut la cause de ce que l'on passait sous silence non seulement les données du colofon mais tous les autres témoignages qui se situaient dans l'orbite de ses principaux renseignements. Il est vrai que les autres auteurs karaïtes ne disposaient pas des sources qu'avait Yosef ha-Mašbir, l'auteur hypothétique du colofon, et de toute évidence ne l'égalaient pas en érudition. Dans leur imagination, les terres qui jadis leur avaient servi d'asile après la Crimée avaient toujours appartenu aux rois polonais ou aux grands princes lituaniens (cf. l'influence de la légende de Vytautas!), et là où, conformément à la réalité, on devrait s'attendre à voir dans les ouvrages historiques et parahistoriques le nom du prince ruthène ou galicien (mentionné même dans une légende railleuse juive), apparaît "le roi polonais" ou Vytautas. L'apparition déplacée de tels personnages dans le contexte devient compréhensible si l'on aborde le témoignage en question dans un ensemble plus large. Les renseignements contradictoires des auteurs karaïtes (qui peut-être agissaient ici dans l'esprit du servilisme propolonais) ont abouti à des conclusions signifiant leur totale inaptitude aux études historiques.

Analysons en conséquence quelques témoignages karaïtes de ce genre. Dans le chapitre sept de l'ouvrage susmentionné *Dod Mordekhay* de Mordekhay Kukizov, terminé en 1700, il est dit que les Karaïtes furent demandés de Turquie (dans l'original Ismael) par un roi polonais.[69] Danylo a été métamorphosé ici en roi polonais, les Tatars en Turcs (ou en Ismaélites) et il n'est resté que l'idée initiale sur ce que les Karaïtes ont été "demandés à venir." Les Karaïtes de Halyč ont souligné dans une pétition

Moscou, mai 1894, p. 218–220). L'ouvrage plus récent de M. Stasiw, *Metropolia Haliciensis, Eius historia et iuridica forma*, Rome, 1960 (= Analecta Ordinis s. Basilii Magni, sect. 1, t. 12) nous a été inaccessible pour son étude.

69 Il ne nous a pas été donné de voir le texte original de Mordekhay qui évidemment vaut la peine d'être étudié. Nous citons d'après Fürst, *Geschichte des Karäerthums*, p. 91.

adressée à l'empereur autrichien Joseph II (1780–1790) qu'ils étaient venus en Galicie au XIII^e siècle.[70]

En décrivant sa pérégrination à Jerusalem dans les années 1785–1786, le ḥazzan Benjamin Yerušalmi de Gözleve en Crimée dit qu' "il y a plus de 500 ans qu'ils (les Karaïtes) sont partis de Crimée de la ville de Solxat nommée encore Crimée Ancienne. Le roi polonais a désiré que les Karaïtes viennent dans son Etat, c'est pourquoi il a prié le souverain de Crimée de les lui envoyer."[71] Le calcul indique une date précédant 1285 et Solxat est de nouveau mentionné comme le point de départ de l'émigration. Quant au prince Danylo, il est métamorphosé en roi de Pologne. (La tradition karaïte contient la notation erronée "200 ans" au lieu de "500 ans." Cette erreur a été remarquée dans son temps par Zajączkowski qui ne soutenait pas l'opinion de l'arrivée des Karaïtes au XIII^e siècle.)[72]

Le voyageur autrichien J. Rohrer a noté lors de son séjour à Halyč en 1802 que "les Karaïtes de Galicie affirment qu'ils sont venus dans ce pays avec les Tatars et que les Polonais les ont faits prisonniers. Ils ont tellement plu aux rois que ces derniers leur ont permis de s'installer dans la capitale princière même, Halyč."[73] Le prince Danylo redevient ici roi polonais, les Karaïtes se transforment d'un coup en prisonniers (cf. certaines analogies avec la légende de Vytautas) et ce n'est que dans la mention sur leur arrivée commune avec les Tatars et sur "la capitale princière à Halyč" (Halyč n'avait été capitale qu'au temps des princes et des rois ruthènes, les rois polonais n'ont jamais eu leur capitale dans cette ville!) qu'on entrevoit la base d'origine véritable.

L'historien polonais Czacki, que nous avons déjà cité, fait mention de quelques notes reçues d'un correspondant karaïte dans son traité sur les Karaïtes publié en 1807. "Dans des notes faites par eux (par les Karaïtes), c'est-à-dire par un demi-savant, il y a des contradictions historiques étranges; par exemple, Vytautas aurait vécu au XIII^e siècle."[74] Il est clair

[70] La citation de la pétition est de G. Wolf, donnée dans un hebdomadaire juif en 1883. Voir pour cela Fahn, *Aus dem Leben der Karaiten*, p. 67. Nous n'avons pas retrouvé l'article de G. Wolf.

[71] J. Gurland, *Neue Denkmäler der Jüdischen Literatur in St. Petersburg*, t. 1, Lyck, 1865, p. 45; A. Neubauer, *Aus der Petersburger Bibliothek: Beiträge und Dokumente zur Geschichte des Karäertums und der Karäischen Literatur*, Leipzig, 1866, p. 124.

[72] A. Zajączkowski, "Opis podróży do Ziemi Świętej," *Myśl Karaimska*, t. 2, Vilnius, 1931, no. 3–4, p. 40.

[73] J. Rohrer, *Bermerkungen auf einer Reise von der türkischen Gränze über Bukowina durch Ost- und Westgalizien, Schlesien und Mähren nach Wien*, Vienne, 1804, p. 116.

[74] T. Czacki, *Rozprawa o żydach i karaitach*, Cracovie, 1860, p. 144.

que dans les notes auxquelles Czacki n'ajoute mot, l'arrivée des Karaïtes est datée au XIIIe siècle et au nom du prince Danylo est substitué celui de Vytautas.

A partir de 5006 (1246) commence l'apparition à Halyč (comme l'a écrit Leonovič dans son commentaire au colofon) du "soi-disant calendrier national karaïte qui se trouvait sous verre dans un cadre doré où, d'après la tradition, on faisait annuellement des inscriptions depuis des années. Il y avait là toute une chronologie historico-religieuse entremêlée, il est vrai, d'histoires fabuleuses diverses mais aussi de détails historiques de valeur," écrivait en 1927 Bohdan Januš[75] qui avait vu le calendrier. Par "histoires fabuleuses diverses," il entendait probablement l'histoire de l'arrivée des Karaïtes sous le prince Danylo et dont il soutenait l'authenticité dans ses premiers ouvrages. Le calendrier en question aurait disparu lors de la première guerre mondiale. Le système local de chronologie karaïte (qui prend pour origine l'arrivée des Karaïtes à Halyč) est cependant encore en cours à Halyč de nos jours.[76]

La liste précitée des témoignages karaïtes de la fin du XVIIe au début du XIXe siècle (qui est naturellement loin d'être complète) prouve que la tradition sur l'émigration des Karaïtes en Ruthénie au XIIIe siècle était bien vivante dans différents milieux karaïtes avant que les copies du colofon aient été faites en 1813 et en 1838. En d'autres termes, le colofon de Halyč n'est pas le seul à figurer dans les nombreuses sources narratives bien qu'il occupe indubitablement une place exclusive par le caractère véridique du noyau principal, qui doit à juste titre servir de point de départ pour l'étude de l'histoire ethnique des Karaïtes d'Ukraine et de Lituanie.

6. La valeur du colofon en tant que source historique (conclusion)

Les études des traditions orales en tant que sources historiques, qui jouissent actuellement d'une certaine activité, principalement, sur un matériel africain[77] et polynésien, permettent de surmonter l'ancien scepticisme hypercritique concernant les sources écrites créées sous l'influence des récits oraux. L'étude du colofon karaïte de Halyč permet d'avancer les conclusions suivantes. En 1700, dans la colonie karaïte de Halyč, à partir

[75] Janusz, *Karaici w Polsce*, p. 82.

[76] Nous en avons eu la conviction lors de nos études personnelles sur la colonie karaïte à Halyč en 1972.

[77] Voir, par exemple, D. P. Henige, *The Chronology of Oral Tradition: Quest for a Chimera*, Londres, 1974 (Oxford Studies in African Affairs).

d'anciennes chroniques et d'une tradition orale, fut composé un colofon en hébreu comprenant un exposé de l'histoire initiale des Karaïtes de Halyč. Son auteur le plus probable serait le savant karaïte Yosef ha-Mašbir. La composition d'une colofon de ce genre fut stimulée par l'intérêt grandissant des savants occidentaux pour les Karaïtes.

Jusqu'à présent, ce colofon qui a vu trois publications imprimées (seulement sous forme de traduction), a été en principe rejeté comme source historique. La cause en est l'analyse peu profonde ou presque nulle de celui-ci et de l'époque du roi Danylo. Le reproche que l'on fait encore au colofon est qu'il serait une falsification faite par le ḥazzan de Halyč Leonovič dans les années 1830.

L'étude du colofon permet de mettre en valeur un noyau ancien de grande importance pour ce qui est des renseignements qui élucident les événements du XIII^{e} siècle. Ces renseignements résistent à la critique: ils sont en grande partie vérifiés par des sources ruthènes, hongroises et anglaises de l'époque (XIII^{e} siècle), ils ont trouvé leur reflet dans la tradition juive et arménienne, et leur répercussion s'est conservée dans d'autres œuvres karaïtes.

Les renseignements qui reflètent d'une manière véridique les événements du XIII^{e} siècle sont les suivants: (1) des pourparlers entre le prince de Galicie Danylo et le chef militaire des Mongolo-Tatars Batou ont eu lieu en 1243; lors de ces pourparlers, les Tatars ont consenti à permettre à différents groupes ethniques (entre autres aux Karaïtes) de quitter des territoires qui étaient tombés sous la domination tatare (la Crimée y comprise) pour émigrer en Galicie-Volynie; (2) 1246 marque le commencement d'une émigration de différents peuples de la Crimée — entre autres des Karaïtes — à destination de l'Etat de Galicie-Volynie; les Karaïtes sont partis de trois villes criméennes: Solxat, Mangup et Caffa. A la suite de leur déplacement, les Karaïtes ont obtenu du prince Danylo des licences commerciales avec l'Orient ainsi qu'une aide matérielle.

Les renseignements que l'on doit encore soumettre à l'étude sont: (1) il n'est pas clair que les Karaïtes aient obtenu en 1246 un privilège sous forme orale ou écrite, il est cependant hors de doute que lors de sa remise par le prince Danylo étaient présents le prince de Volynie Vasyl'ko et l'évêque (de Halyč) Petro, ex-ambassadeur de Danylo auprès du pape de Rome Innocent IV; (2) il n'est pas clair qu'en 1246 l'émigration karaïte ait vraiment eu pour destination concrète la ville de Halyč, partiellement détruite par les Mongolo-Tatars, ou bien la Galicie en général (principauté de Galicie).

L'analyse du colofon exclut sa falsification lors des années 1830 et le

réhabilite aux yeux des historiens en tant que source de première valeur contenant des renseignements importants pour l'histoire ethnique des Karaïtes et pour l'histoire de l'Etat de Galicie-Volynie du XIII^{e} siècle.

REVIEW ARTICLES

THE FORMATION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY IN SUBCARPATHIAN RUS': SOME QUESTIONS OF METHODOLOGY

JOHN-PAUL HIMKA

THE SHAPING OF A NATIONAL IDENTITY: SUBCARPATHIAN RUS', 1848–1948. By *Paul Robert Magocsi.* Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978. xiii, 640 pp.

Paul R. Magocsi has made a very welcome addition to the scholarly literature on Eastern Europe. His study of nationalism in Subcarpathian Rus' is scrupulously researched; its documentary base includes sources published in the Western, Slavic, and Magyar languages as well as interviews and archival material. The text is clearly structured, combining a chronological and thematic approach. The book's first part provides a general background on Subcarpathian Rus' and recounts its history up to 1919. The second part discusses varying interpretations of Rusyn history (by authors of Rusyn, Hungarian, Russian, and Ukrainian orientations) as well as problems of language, culture, education, and religion in Subcarpathian Rus'. The third part deals with the political history of the region from 1919 to 1948. Throughout, the account is clear and reads well.

The thick volume is somewhat less than half filled with the text proper. Following the text are four appendices (including one that reproduces about forty extracts illustrating seven versions of the written language of the Subcarpathian Rusyns); a hundred pages of notes; a comprehensive bibliography with over two thousand entries; and a detailed index of some fifty pages. The volume will therefore remain an indispensable handbook for anyone interested in the region.

As the main title of the book states, the study is chiefly concerned with

the shaping of national identity in the region. According to Magocsi, "Subcarpathian Rusyns could have been consolidated into an independent nationality or they could have associated and become a part of the Magyar, Slovak, Ukrainian, or Russian nationalities. The purpose of this study is to see which of these alternatives was eventually accepted and why one succeeded and the others failed" (p. 14). The author attempts, then, to provide a study that transcends the 8,820 square miles of Subcarpathian Rus' by examining the way in which a national identity is formed.

The reviewer feels that this latter attempt miscarried, and that it did so because the author failed to ask the right questions. The weakness of the book's methodology has prevented it from making a contribution as "a study of nationalism" (p. 1).

These statements may surprise many who have looked at the book. The back cover carries an endorsement by Karl Deutsch, whose innovative work on nationalism is justly and almost universally admired. Furthermore, the book cites, in the introduction and at the outsets of several chapters, all the leading modern authorities on nationalism who write in English: not only Deutsch, but Elie Kedourie, Carlton J. H. Hayes, Boyd C. Shafer, Anthony D. Smith, etc. One might suppose, then, that the book employs the best modern methods. But this is not so. For one thing, it can be argued that the best modern interpretations of nation-making processes are not written in English, and that Deutsch's most talented disciples are currently in Eastern Europe, notably the Czech Miroslav Hroch[1] and the Pole Józef Chlebowczyk.[2] These two authors, who work on problems closely related to Magocsi's, are not cited in his book. But the real test of methodological validity is not who is cited and who is not; citations can, after all, be used as ornaments or decorative initials. The real test lies in the methodology itself. From a student of Deutsch we expect good social science and good comparative method. It is precisely at these two points, however, that the book falls apart.

Before discussing these central weaknesses, I wish to defend an aspect of Magocsi's methodology that is likely to provoke controversy, especially outside the scholarly community. It will offend some national

1 Miroslav Hroch, *Die Vorkämpfer der nationalen Bewegung bei den kleinen Völkern Europas: Eine vergleichende Analyse zur gesellschaftlichen Schichtung der patriotischen Gruppen* (Prague, 1968).
2 Józef Chlebowczyk, *Procesy narodotwórcze we wschodniej Europie środkowej w dobie kapitalizmu: Od schyłku XVIII do początków XX w.* (Warsaw, 1975). Parts of this book appeared earlier as articles.

sensibilities that Magocsi does not proceed from the premise that the Rusyns of Subcarpathia were innately Ukrainian. Instead, he begins with the assumption that "one is *not* born with a nationality" (p. 2). Accordingly, he examines the competition among three different national orientations (Rusynophile, Russophile, and Ukrainophile) as if no one of them was any more legitimate than the others. In my opinion, Magocsi's approach is valid for investigating the problem that interests him, namely, why one of the three orientations eventually triumphed. The principal virtue of this approach is that it does not allow the ultimately victorious Ukrainian orientation to escape analysis (which happens too frequently when its inherent legitimacy is assumed). Magocsi's study is the first significant attempt to step back and view the national awakening in Subcarpathia from a standpoint beyond any of the competing orientations. This is refreshing, and it constitutes one of the strengths of the study.

A serious methodological weakness of the book, however, is the rejection of socioeconomic factors as an influence on national orientation. Magocsi is correct, of course, to point out that "socioeconomic status or age are not adequate to explain why *individuals*[3] from the same region, and frequently from the same family, would join differing national orientations" (p. 19). He is also in the right when he states that "there is no *simple one-to-one relationship*[3] between age or social and economic status on the one hand and acquired national orientation on the other" (p. 18). But by this high criterion for validity — a simple one-to-one relationship that determines the personal choice of individuals — *any* explanation would have to be rejected. History, like the life it reflects, is not that simple.

The value of socioeconomic analysis is in the isolation and interpretation of trends. Trends, Magocsi admits, do exist. He notes, for example, that 40 percent of the Rusynophiles were priests' sons who themselves became priests,[4] and that Russophiles and Ukrainophiles outnumbered Rusynophiles four-to-one in the generation after 1905 (p. 19). But admitting a trend is not enough: the author's task was to *explain* these trends, and this he evaded.

Appendix 2, which consists of eighty-one comparative biographies, was adduced as evidence of the inadequacy of age and socioeconomic

[3] Emphasis mine.

[4] Actually, this seems to be a misprint or miscalculation. Recalculating from Appendix 2, I find that less than 30 percent of the Rusynophiles were priests from priestly families. However, over half the priests of priestly origin were Rusynophiles.

status in explaining the choice of national identity. It is important, therefore, to take a closer look at this appendix and at what it reveals.

It is here, perhaps, that the lack of acquaintance with Miroslav Hroch's work is most keenly felt. Hroch would have alerted Magocsi that there must be some criterion for selecting a group which is subjected to sociological analysis. The only clue given as to why Magocsi grouped together for analysis the eighty-one individuals in Appendix 2 is that they were "some of the most prominent national leaders in Subcarpathian Rus' in the post-1918 period" (p. 282). This vague basis for selection diminishes the value of his data. Hroch would also have suggested to Magocsi some more definite and sophisticated questions to ask of his data, such as it is.

It did not take a reading of Hroch, however, to notice a clear preference for Ukrainophilism among Rusyns of plebeian origin. Of twenty-six peasants' sons, twelve opted for Ukrainophilism, seven for Rusynophilism, and seven for Russophilism (two or three because they had been influenced by the Russian revolution). Magocsi does not even call attention to this preference, let alone attempt to explain it.

Nor does Magocsi bother to correlate year of birth with national preference. It is up to the painstaking reader to transcribe Magocsi's data and to calculate that the mean year of birth for Rusynophiles was 1882, for Russophiles — 1883, and for Ukrainophiles — 1893.[5] This seems to indicate that Ukrainophilism was the wave of the future — an indication which runs against the grain of Magocsi's any-option-could-have-won conclusions. (In this connection we could also note that Appendix 2 mentions only three cases of switched orientations, and that all three were *to* Ukrainophilism.) Correlating year of birth with social origin, we discover that the mean year of birth for priests' sons was 1876, and for peasants' sons — 1893. The mean year of birth for priests was 1880, and for non-priests — 1887.

Putting all these correlations together, we might hazard the hypothesis that the upsurge of Ukrainophilism, the rise of secular leadership, and the growth of plebeian participation in the national movement were part of a historically connected process.[6] What was this process? What were the connections among these phenomena, if any? Magocsi never poses, let alone attempts to answer, these questions.

[5] In calculating mean years of birth I have excluded two individuals born after 1910. Their years of birth (1917 and 1920) fall clearly outside the normal cluster of birth years in Magocsi's sample.

[6] My own research into the history of Ukrainophilism among the "Rusyns" of Galicia suggests that in the Austrian crownland these phenomena *were* linked.

The rejection of socioeconomic factors, based on Appendix 2, perhaps accounts for the book's paucity of information about the society and economy of Subcarpathian Rus'. For instance, although it has a table showing Rusyn occupational distribution, it has none correlating nationality and occupation in the region.[7] Moreover, nowhere in the book do we find a discussion of the former landlord class, its nationality, or its relationship to the post-emancipation Rusyn peasantry and Greek Catholic clergy. Are we to presume that the existence of a Magyar landed nobility was irrelevant to the way national identity was shaped in Subcarpathian Rus'? Would this not have had at least some influence on the Ukrainophile (and radical Russophile) proclivities of the plebeian element? Would it not also, perhaps, have been a factor in the Magyarone and Rusynophile preferences of the clergy?

The study's sorest oversight is precisely its failure to attempt an explanation of why the Greek Catholic clergy preferred Rusynophilism. Appendix 2, for example, shows that: (1) as already noted, a substantial portion of the Rusynophile leaders were priests who were the sons of priests; (2) over half the clergy in the sample became Rusynophile; and (3) priests made up only 14 percent of the Ukrainophile and 21 percent of the Russophile leadership, but 39 percent of the Rusynophile. One need not bother with statistics, however, to notice the connection between the Greek Catholic clergy and Rusynophilism. It is evident in the account of the Rusynophile redaction of Subcarpathian history, which portrays the church union and the restoration of the Mukachevo diocese as central

[7] Here I should point out a compound error in the use of statistics relating to non-Rusyn nationality and occupation. In footnote 11, p. 362, Magocsi writes: "Unlike other areas of eastern Europe . . . in Subcarpathian Rus' trade was not the exclusive domain of Jews." To prove this statement, Magocsi had to show that some non-Jews (actually, one non-Jew) participated in trade. Instead, he tells us that 39.1 percent of the Jewish population of the region were engaged in commerce and credit (1930), a fact that by no means precludes that all those engaged in commerce and credit may have been Jews. Of course, this was not the case in reality, because non-Jews did engage in commerce.

In what other areas of Eastern Europe was trade the *exclusive* domain of Jews? Perhaps merely a pre-eminent position held by Jews is meant here. If so, the situation may have been no different from that in other areas. Combining the information given in the above-mentioned footnote with the information in Table 3 (p. 355), we discover that Jews outnumbered Rusyns in commerce by a ratio of two-and-a-half to one, although nearly six times as many Rusyns as Jews lived in Subcarpathian Rus'.

However, the book does not give enough information to determine to what extent commerce in Subcarpathian Rus' was the domain of Jews. Magyars, for all we are told, may have made up the largest percentage of the commercial class.

For another example of the faulty use of statistics, see p. 268 ("recent census data confirm this trend"), and cf. p. 256 and p. 456, fn. 39.

events. It is clearly expressed in Magocsi's own words: ". . . for the most part, the hierarchy and other leading members [of the Greek Catholic church] remained either Magyarone in sympathy, or . . . favored some degree of Subcarpathian Rusyn separateness" (p. 187).[8] But *what* was inclining the (non-Basilian) Greek Catholic clergy towards Magyarone, anti-Ukrainian Rusynophilism? This question, which is central to the problem Magocsi hopes to solve, is again not posed, let alone answered.

I do not mean to suggest that social factors alone determined the ultimate choice of identity for what is now the Transcarpathian Ukraine, but I do think that the serious investigator ignores them at his peril. This is doubly true when the conclusions offer alternatives that are question-begging (e.g., the Rusynophile movement failed "basically because of the attitudes of the local intelligentsia. . . . What the Rusyn orientation lacked . . . was purposeful leadership," p. 274) or naive (e.g., the Soviet Union under Joseph Stalin "felt obliged . . . to accept the Ukrainian option so as to be consistent with the ideology of the local [i.e., Subcarpathian] Communist party," p. 275).[9]

Another problem with the methodology involves the use of comparison. The last six pages of the book develop a peculiar argument to prove that "any one of the three [national orientations] might have been implemented" with success after 1944 (p. 275).[10] According to Magocsi, "even government efforts to foster a separate Rusyn identity failed. . . . This does not mean that Subcarpathian civilization did not possess the potential to be transformed into a separate national identity. It did. . . . That the potential existed was revealed by the minuscule group of Rusyns in Yugoslavia," where a separate Rusyn nationality was indeed created after 1945 (p. 274; also see pp. 270–71). Leaving aside the possibility that Magocsi may be introducing his evidence prematurely, there is a fatal flaw in this, the cornerstone of his any-orientation-could-have-prevailed conclusion:

8 Even into the Soviet period, "the Greek Catholic Church and its seminary in Uzhhorod had been the last bastions of the Rusynophile orientation" (p. 265).

9 The second reason Magocsi gives for the Soviets' choice of Ukrainophilism strikes one as more sensible: the Soviet Union wanted to be consistent "as well . . . with the arguments put forward on the international forum. . . ."

10 This conclusion catches the reader by surprise. In the second half of the 1930s, the Ukrainian movement was "rapidly expanding" (p. 226) and "becoming ever more influential throughout the province" (p. 227) in spite of the Czechoslovak government's anti-Ukrainophile policy. The subsequent period of autonomy increased Ukrainophilism's "influence and prestige among large segments of the local population," and "the Ukrainophile orientation spread rapidly, especially among the younger generation" (p. 246). The oppressive Hungarian regime during World War II provoked a reaction that seems to have further strengthened the Ukrainian orientation (p. 249).

namely, it is a comparison of incomparables. As the book makes clear, the (linguistically different) Yugoslav "Rusyns" comprise a very small minority far from any contiguous Rusyn territory. To use them as proof of the viability of Rusynism in Subcarpathia is inadmissible.

If comparisons were in order, and they were, they should have been with the people who called themselves Rusyn at least until the turn of the century, but who differed from the Subcarpathian Rusyns by one "ethnographic" trait:[11] they lived north and east of the borders of the old Hungarian kingdom. In Bukovyna and Galicia the same three trends existed as in Subcarpathian Rus'. In both Bukovyna and Galicia, as in Subcarpathian Rus', the Ukrainian orientation ultimately triumphed. Ukrainian historians, surveying the struggle over national orientation in the whole of the Western Ukraine, have generally assumed that the Subcarpathians followed the same essential pattern as the Galicians and Bukovynians. The Subcarpathians took longer to traverse the same ground, a circumstance reflecting the relative lack of liberty in Hungary compared to Austria after 1867 (when Ukrainophilism began to "take off" in Galicia), and perhaps also reflecting the difference between mountainous regions and plains (and consequently, between less and more urbanized areas). Magocsi neither developed this standard comparison nor confronted it head on. Had he done either, his work would have been much more valuable.

Nonetheless, Magocsi has produced the most serious study in English on Subcarpathian Rus', or, in fact, on any aspect of "West Ukrainian" history. Whatever its methodological shortcomings, this is an impressive work of scholarship distinguished by a fresh and controversial viewpoint, lucidity, and meticulous research. In the preface to this volume, Magocsi promises to prepare a similar study on the Ukrainians of Galicia. May it retain the virtues of his present effort while making a better contribution to our understanding of the formation of national identity.

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[11] See the map on p. 215 of "Ethnographic Boundaries in East-Central Europe, 1930," which marks out territory for "Serbo-Croatians," "Subcarpathian Rusyns," and "Ukrainians" (inhabiting Galicia and Bukovyna).

REVIEWS

KIMMERIITSY. By *Aleksei Ivanovich Terenozhkin.* Kiev: "Naukova dumka," 1976. 224 pp.

Dr. A. I. Terenozhkin of the Institute of Archaeology of the Ukrainian SSR in Kiev has long been a leading specialist on the late bronze and early iron ages in the northern Black Sea region. In the present work, he examines the Russian-Ukrainian steppe during the immediate pre-Scythian era and calls into question some of the basic tenets of recent Soviet scholarship on the Cimmerians and early Scythians.

Soviet archaeologists, as well as some Western specialists, have tended to view the early Scythians as a further development of the late bronze age Srubnaia (Srubna) or Timber-Frame culture, which arose in the lower Volga region around the middle of the second millennium B.C. This thesis also implies that the Scythians were indigenous to Eastern Europe and not newcomers who migrated into the Russian-Ukrainian steppe in the seventh century B.C. Terenozhkin attacks the identification of the Timber-Frame peoples with the proto-Scythians. He claims, instead, that the Timber-Frame peoples were, in reality, the Cimmerians who inhabited the Russian-Ukrainian steppe until the incursion of the Scythians from Asia during the seventh century.

Having advanced his thesis at the outset, Terenozhkin then provides a detailed analysis of the archaeological remains from the Russian-Ukrainian steppe in the immediate pre-Scythian or "late Cimmerian" era. The second chapter consists of a comprehensive catalogue of 136 known "late Cimmerian" sites from the steppe (89), forest-steppe (46), and mountainous part of the Crimea (1). This collection of all the material remains left by the nomadic inhabitants of the Russian-Ukrainian steppe in the immediate pre-Scythian era is clearly a major contribution. Of comparable value is Terenozhkin's division of the "late Cimmerian" era into two stages. The earlier, or Chernogorovsk stage (900–750 B.C.) corresponded to the change from bronze to iron; it is characterized by bronze bits with a stirrup-shaped hole at the end, bronze cheekpieces with three circular holes, and the placement of the dead in a contracted position on their side with an eastern or northeastern orientation. The later, or Novocherkassk stage (750–650 B.C.) wit-

nessed the predominance of iron; this was a kind of pre-Scythian iron age which was characterized by bronze bits with two circular holes in the end, cheekpieces with three circular loops along the edge, and the placement of the dead in an extended position on their side with a western orientation. Terenozhkin's identification and description of these two stages marks a major advance in our knowledge of the late bronze age in the Russian-Ukrainian steppe.

"Late Cimmerian" culture is represented almost entirely by secondary burials in kurgans dating from an earlier period. These are located throughout the steppe, from the lower Danube and northern Bulgaria in the west to the Volgograd region and lower left-bank Volga in the east. Consequently, almost half the book is devoted to an examination of "late Cimmerian" graves and grave goods. Included are chapters on tombs and burial rites, weapons (swords, short-swords, arrows, spears, battle-axes), horse-trappings (primarily bits and cheekpieces), domestic objects (knives, pottery, and jewelry), and items of applied art (mainly plaques from horse-trappings). In short, Terenozhkin provides a very systematic analysis of the graves and relatively modest grave goods which form the chief archaeological remains from the immediate pre-Scythian period in the Russian-Ukrainian steppe.

This book is unquestionably one of the most important works on the late bronze age in the steppe to appear in many years. However, it does not deal satisfactorily with a number of important problems. For example, Terenozhkin notes the change from a sedentary way of life to nomadic stock-raising that took place between the Bilozers'ke stage of the Timber-Frame culture (1150–950 B.C.) and the "late Cimmerian" era. But he fails to examine the causes of this transition. As a result, it is not clear if the Cimmerians were always Timber-Frame peoples, as Terenozhkin argues, or whether they were only the last stage of the Timber-Frame peoples, i.e., the inhabitants of the steppe following the transition to pastoral nomadism. Furthermore, Terenozhkin avoids the important question of why and how the Chernogorovsk stage gave way to the Novocherkassk stage. The author's identification of the Timber-Frame peoples with the Cimmerians also needs more elaboration. His main argument focuses on the absence of an animal style in the "late Cimmerian" or Timber-Frame culture and the existence of a fully developed animal style among the early Scythians. While this approach has a certain persuasiveness, it needs to be developed in more detail. In the process, Terenozhkin would do well to comment upon some of the other theories regarding the origins of the Cimmerians, theories which he ignores here. It is also unfortunate that Terenozhkin makes no reference to several valuable studies by Western scholars on the Cimmerians and the late bronze age. Finally, it is to be hoped that in a subsequent work Terenozhkin will examine the written and cuneiform sources on the Cimmerians in more detail and will try to relate them to the archaeological materials.

Thomas S. Noonan
University of Minnesota

RANNESKIFSKIE KURGANY BASSEINA R. TIASMIN (VII–VI VV. DO N.E.). By *Varvara Andreeva Il'inskaia.* Kiev: "Naukova dumka," 1975. 223 pp.

V. A. Il'inskaia, associate of the Institute of Archaeology of the Ukrainian SSR in Kiev, is the author of several excellent studies on the late bronze and early iron ages in the Ukrainian forest-steppe. In this book she explores the general topic of the transition from the Chornolis culture of the late bronze age to the mature Scythianized culture of the fifth to fourth century B.C. in the forest-steppe of the Right Bank. As the title indicates, the heart of the work is a detailed study of the kurgans from the seventh to sixth century B.C. found along the basin of the Tiasmyn River south of Kiev.

This is an important book which merits serious consideration. The traditional focus on Greek colonization and Scythian migration north of the Black Sea has led to some neglect of the native pre-Scythian population during the crucial transitional era. Il'inskaia attempts to remedy some of this neglect. Furthermore, her study is one of the few efforts to analyze the transition systematically (most previous works have dealt with either the later bronze age *or* the early iron age). In short, the present volume is clearly a major recent work on Ukrainian pre-history.

Il'inskaia's basic thesis is that close ties between the forest-steppe of the Right Bank and the steppe had already developed during the late bronze age, ca. the eleventh to eighth century B.C. In the seventh to sixth century, however, the nature of these ties changed due to the Scythian conquest of the Pontic steppes and the incorporation of the indigenous peoples of the forest-steppe of the Right Bank into Scythia. In other words, the transition was created by the intrusion of external Scythian elements into the Tiasmyn basin. It did not spring from the natural evolution of the indigenous Chornolis culture. The transitional era began a period of almost four centuries during which the population of the southern forest-steppe was part of the Scythian steppe world.

The study analyzes changes in such matters as burial rites, weapons, horse trappings, jewelry, and ornamentation in great detail. The rite of cremation in moundless graves, which had predominated, gave way in the transitional era to inhumation in wooden crypts placed within pits under large kurgans. At the same time, considerable variety existed within the transitional burial rites. A complete change in weaponry occurred as new, non-indigenous types of swords, daggers, etc., appeared. Bone and bronze horse bits and cheekpieces were replaced by iron bits and cheekpieces of different shapes. Typically Scythian earrings, pins, and bracelets took the place of bronze Chornolis jewelry. Finally, geometric designs gave way to objects done in the early Scythian animal style. While some grave goods of the transitional era (e.g., pottery) showed a continuity with earlier indigenous patterns, the prevailing trend was for change from the local Chornolis to foreign Scythian forms.

Il'inskaia's analysis rests upon a careful, comprehensive study of the data. Of the 566 excavated kurgans from the Tiasmyn basin, the 128 she attributes to the

seventh to sixth century are described fully. This systematic catalogue of archaic Tiasmyn graves, including unpublished materials from the Kiev Historical Museum, is one of the most valuable contributions of the entire work, especially for scholars outside the USSR, for whom access to nineteenth-century reports is often difficult, if not impossible, to obtain. Il'inskaia also provides a very helpful breakdown of the burials from these two centuries: she classifies them into several sub-periods and discusses the artifacts which typified each.

Despite its many fine features, the book fails to address several key questions adequately. The identity of the people buried in these kurgans and the process of Scythianization along the Tiasmyn need to be clarified. Does Scythianization mean, as the author seems to suggest (p. 57), a process by which the indigenous pre-Scythian population came to adopt many elements of Scythian culture? One could argue, after all, that people buried like Scythians and with Scythian grave goods were, in reality, Scythians. In short, the interaction between Scythians and natives in the Scythianization of the Tiasmyn basin must be discussed fully and the role of each people should be described in some detail. In this context, how are we to understand the term "early Scythian kurgans" that appears in the title? Does it refer to Scythians of the archaic era who were buried in kurgans along the Tiasmyn, or to non-Scythians who were buried in these kurgans during the early Scythian era?

The author frequently mentions the Zhabotyn (seventh century B.C.) and Elder Zhurivka (sixth century B.C.) stages of the transitional era, but she fails to explain their historical meaning. Do they represent two distinct phases in the transition from the indigenous Chornolis to the mature Scythian culture, or do they only distinguish minor variations between artifacts which, while important for archaeologists, lack real historical significance? What importance do these two stages really have in the process of Scythianization?

A complete study of the transitional era along the Tiasmyn would also need to discuss the settlement at Zhabotyn which dates to the seventh century B.C., as well as the fortified sites from the sixth century located in the Tiasmyn basin. The materials from these sites constitute an important source for our understanding of the transitional era, and they must be fully considered in any discussion of Scythianization.

In conclusion, Il'inskaia's work marks a major advance in the archaeological study of the Ukraine. However, it has not resolved all the issues concerning the transition from the late bronze age to the early iron age along the Tiasmyn basin. We can only hope that future studies will build upon Il'inskaia's work by addressing some of the questions it leaves unresolved.

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HRYHORIJ LEVYC'KYJ I UKRAJINS'KA HRAVJURA. By *V. M. Fomenko.* Kiev: "Naukova dumka," 1976. 109 pp. 1,500 copies.

Fomenko's essay on the Ukrainian graphist Hryhoryj Kyrylovyč Levyc'kyj-Nos (1697–1769) is divided into two lengthy chapters. In addition, a foreword surveys the modest historiography dealing with old Ukrainian graphics in general and with Levyc'kyj in particular.

The first chapter relates Levyc'kyj's biography to 1732. The graphist was born in the town of Majačka, presently in the Novosanžars'kyj region of the Poltava oblast'. In the 1720s, he lived in the bustling city of Wrocław in Silesia, where he became an accomplished master of graphic arts. Fomenko gives a cursory survey of some elements of the dominant baroque style and then catalogues and evaluates Levyc'kyj's extant works from the period (also cf. pp. 27, 45–46). He concludes that during his years in Wrocław the "artist was favorably inclined towards the ideals of the just national-liberation struggle of the Polish population of Silesia against the foreign oppressors" (p. 24).

Sometime between 1732 and 1735 Levyc'kyj returned to Kiev, and it is this Ukrainian period which is covered in chapter two. In 1741, Levyc'kyj became a priest in his native Majačka, but, according to Fomenko, he soon left his clerical duties to an assistant and returned to Kiev. He remained there for the rest of his life, working on his art in collaboration with the artisans of the Kiev academy (but note p. 87, fn. 66). The chapter contains an analysis of the various genres of Levyc'kyj's work — panegyrics, portraits, book graphics, and icons. The actual technique of engraving is treated briefly and superficially (p. 36). The sixty-eight plates that accompany and illustrate the text are adequate but undistinguished.

Throughout the book the author does not hesitate to drive home a political message, namely, that the present political relations between members of the socialist community (Soviet Russia, Soviet Ukraine, Poland, etc.) are bonds which have a history of long standing (cf. p. 8).

Edward Kasinec
Harvard University

THE END OF THE OLD ORDER IN RURAL EUROPE. By *Jerome Blum.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978. xv, 505 pp. Paper $12.50; cloth $27.50.

Professor Jerome Blum's task in his most recent work was far more difficult than the one he set for himself in *Lord and Peasant in Russia from the Ninth to the Nineteenth Century.* The new work covers much less than a thousand years, but the terrain it surveys is far more extensive. The author is now concerned with no

less a problem than the abolition of serfdom all across "servile Europe" — a process that began with the first emancipation decree in Savoy in 1771 and ended with the liberation of the Romanian peasantry in 1864. Unlike his earlier work, which traced the development and decline of serfdom in a single country, the new one attempts to explain the cause and effect of a change that was essential for the modernization of European society.

Lesser scholars would not have attempted the research required for this study, which covers all of Europe except England and the countries on the Iberian, Italian, and Balkan peninsulas. The rulers of nearly forty European states and principalities freed their peasants in the century prior to 1864, and dozens of experimental emancipations on private estates were made by monarchs and nobles who wished to diminish the burdens and improve the economies of their serfs. The contemporary literature concerned with these developments and "the peasant problem" is enormous. Furthermore, Western and Soviet historians have since published extensively on the emancipations and on peasant obligations, unrest, and land tenure. Professor Blum cites more than nine hundred separate works, which are also listed in a forty-five page bibliography (pp. 433–88).

This study de-emphasizes the political maneuvering which in many countries was necessary for drawing up and implementing the reform legislation, given the strong opposition of most of the nobility. Less than twenty percent of the text is concerned with the immediate causes of the reforms, the emancipation acts themselves, and the legal and economic changes they produced (pp. 357–417). Nearly forty percent is devoted to a description of the three most important aspects of the traditional order: the privileged position of the seigniors, the obligations and the situation of the peasantry, and the retardation of agriculture (pp. 1–193). About thirty-five percent of the work identifies those developments that brought about the demise of traditional European society. The latter section analyzes conflicts between the absolutistic rulers and the nobility, enlightened criticism of the assumptions of the Old Order, improvements in agricultural production, and peasant unrest (pp. 197–353).

The work's achievements are noteworthy. Professor Blum gives a synthetic description of serfdom, despite the variability of agriculture, land tenure, and feudal dues across Europe. Moreover, he adequately treats many of the social, economic, and technological changes that preceded the emancipations. Finally, he provides the best summary to date of the numerous reforms and their implementation.

The most disturbing feature of the work is the author's interpretation of the significance of the emancipation legislation. In his view, the abolition of serfdom was tantamount to "the transition from the society of orders to the class society." Whereas the emancipations did imply that "(at least nominally) everyone was equal before the law," one may question whether "the grant of equality, even if incomplete, . . . condemned the traditional society to oblivion" (p. 440). Actually, the foundation of that society had been eroded by developments that preceded the emancipation: the dramatic increase in the number of commoners, the growing

economic strength of burghers and peasants, the greater efficiency of forms of capital accumulation not based on serf labor, and the opening up of governmental and military positions to commoners on the basis of merit. In England, for example, serfdom disappeared as a result of these and other developments, not by official decree. In the Russian Empire, on the other hand, emancipation statutes did little more than convert the serfs into impoverished state peasants. One may conclude, therefore, that the contribution of the legal abolition of serfdom to social change probably differed from country to country. Determining factors probably included the intent of the legislators and the degree to which the traditional society had previously been undermined by a centralizing state and an expanding bourgeoisie.

Scholars concerned with specific countries, regions, or periods will find this study somewhat disconcerting. Because treatment is topical, information on any particular territory is scattered throughout the text. The index can be used successfully in some cases, but it provides only a handful of references for the Ukraine, Galicia, and other Ukrainian provinces. Information pertinent for the Ukraine is also included under "Austrian Monarchy" and "Russia."

Because the author assumed that "the social structure of the lands dealt with in this book followed a common pattern of transition," he felt free to illustrate stages in this process by selecting events without regard to the time or place of their occurrence (p. 8). This meant that he was released both from the normal constraints of chronology and from the historian's usual obligation to relate particular effects to specific causes.

This work will be most useful to those viewing the abolition of serfdom as a single phenomenon whose historical role was the same everywhere. Teachers wishing to give their students the most general characteristics of the Old Order and of the emancipations will find Professor Blum's topical summaries convenient. Scholars desiring to study specific emancipations in their particular historical contexts, however, will need to turn elsewhere.

Zack Deal
Harvard University

EKONOMIČNA HEOHRAFIJA UKRAJINS'KOJI RSR (Z OSNOVAMY TEORIJI): POSIBNYK DLJA VČYTELJA. By *Maksym Martynovyč Palamarčuk*. Kiev: "Radjans'ka škola," 1975. 312 pp.

Economic geography, like any other science in the Soviet Ukraine, is called upon to serve the objectives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This text in the Ukrainian language is a response to that call. Dr. Palamarčuk, professor of economic geography and associate of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, wrote the book "to help teachers master the achievements of economic

geography, and to raise the theoretical and ideo-political level of teaching" the subject in high schools (p. 3). The author's desire was, above all, to reveal "the indivisible organic unity of the national economy of Ukrainian SSR with the economy of all other union republics within the single national-economic complex, the USSR" (p. 4).

In pursuit of his major goal, Palamarčuk deftly omits any reference to former Ukrainian statehood (p. 16) and dutifully follows current Soviet official historiography. His interpretation of the history of industrial development in the Ukraine is clearly anti-Austrian (p. 96), but not anti-Russian (p. 97). He emphasizes the assistance the Ukrainian SSR received from other Soviet republics (mainly for the rebuilding of the Donbas) following the devastating wars, but fails to mention the help the Ukraine provided for the development of Siberia and Kazakhstan (pp. 98–100). He duly enunciates the Soviet principle of economic equalization, but does not explain how the decisions to transfer labor or funds from one republic to another are made (p. 22). Palamarčuk's centralist stand earned him a very favorable review in *Ekonomična heohrafija,*[1] as well as the publication of a revised Russian edition of his text.[2]

This book differs from two recent predecessors in both format and content.[3] It is half again as long, was printed in 46,000 copies (or six to eight times more than other textbooks for students of economic institutes), and had an insert with four attractive color maps showing mineral resources, population, industry, and agricultural regions. Two chapters are devoted to new topics: the introduction presents theoretical concepts of economic geography, and chapter 1, entitled "The Ukrainian SSR — a component part of the USSR," establishes a centralist ideological framework. The remaining chapters present traditional topics,[4] occasionally with new approaches. The geography of services is noted as a newly developing branch of the discipline (p. 6), but, due to lack of empirical studies, it is not accorded a separate chapter.[5]

Palamarčuk's theoretical introduction consists mainly of definitions that describe territorial structures (the so-called territorial-production complexes and production-territorial systems), and their different spatial manifestations, hierarchies, and types. Models of interaction, networks, and urban hierarchies (com-

[1] M. H. Ihnatenko, V. Ju. Turjak, and D. T. Panevs'ka, "Cinnyj posibnyk z ekonomičnoji heohrafiji Ukrajins'koji RSR," *Ekonomična heohrafija* 21 (1976): 126–28.

[2] M. M. Palamarčuk, *Èkonomičeskaja geografija Ukrainskoj SSR* (Kiev, 1977).

[3] *Ekonomična heohrafija Ukrajins'koji RSR,* ed. by O. S. Korojid and A. M. Hryhor'jev, 2nd ed. (Kiev, 1968); *Ukrajins'ka RSR: Ekonomiko-heohrafična xarakterystyka,* ed. by P. V. Kryven' (Kiev, 1961).

[4] The topics are: chapter 2 — economic-geographical characteristics of natural conditions and natural resources; chapter 3 — geography of population; chapter 4 — the development and structure of the republic's economy as a whole; chapter 5 — industrial geography; chapter 6 — agricultural geography; chapter 7 — geography of transport and economic links; and chapter 8 — economic regions.

[5] For a general survey, see Ju. G. Sauškin, *Èkonomičeskaja geografija: Istorija, teorija, metody, praktika* (Moscow, 1973), pp. 222–26.

mon fare in economic geography courses at American and British universities) are absent, and there is no attempt to present model-building theories or analytical techniques.

The empirical chapters are traditionally descriptive and contain an extensive recital of updated facts. The recent concern for environmental conservation is expressed in the chapter on natural resources (pp. 69–78). The chapter on agriculture calls for the wise use of the Ukraine's good earth (pp. 186–89). Simple geographical relationships between the location of an industry and its need for raw materials, fuel, water, certain kinds of labor, or the by-products of another industry that can serve as raw material are presented clearly. However, no attempt is made to demonstrate how these factors can be weighed in terms of cost or to determine the optimal location for a new industrial plant. Similarly, agricultural specialization is explained simply by listing obvious physical and economic factors. Nothing is said about how cultural preferences can affect agricultural production, how new farm tasks are assigned, or how agro-industrial unions are established.

Omissions in tables and maps make proper interpretation of the facts difficult, if not impossible.[6] Trends in regional economic development in the Ukrainian SSR are presented for the first time, but the methodology leads to a biased conclusion.[7] Finally, although the author enhances his description of two economic

[6] For example, in discussing Soviet policies for industrial development, Palamarčuk distinguishes between group "A" (producers' goods) and group "B" (consumers' goods) industries, but he fails to identify the commodities in Tables 3 and 4 according to the group to which they belong (pp. 114–15). Similarly, the industrial maps with concentric circles of different sizes (Figs. 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, and 15, as well as the color map of industries) are not specified by scale. One is left to wonder whether the circles are drawn proportionately to variables such as the value of production, the number of workers employed, or the amount of capital invested, or whether they are nominally scaled.

The map showing the percentage of the Ukrainian SSR's in-and-out shipments with various economic regions of the USSR (Fig. 18) entirely ignores the exchange of goods between the Ukrainian SSR and countries outside the USSR. Its design visually suggests that the shipments are balanced — a conclusion which careful reading of the legend shows to be obviously wrong. More seriously, the legend fails to indicate whether the cargo is measured by weight, volume, or value.

[7] Table 26 used the index of economic development (a composite of the gross per capita value of industrial production, of the per capita investment of funds for industrial production, of the number of industrial personnel per thousand people, and of the gross per capita value of agricultural production) to demonstrate that differences between oblasts are diminishing. This was done by assigning the value of 1 to the Ukrainian SSR for 1955, 1960, and 1970, so that the oblasts range in value above and below this normalized mean. Since economic growth has occurred in all oblasts, this method would inevitably show a closing gap. If absolute index values were used, the results might well have revealed a widening gap. Unfortunately, raw index values were not provided.

Incidentally, the captions in Figs. 19 and 20, which show levels of economic development by oblast for 1955 and 1970, were reversed, so that it seemed the gap had increased. The error was corrected in the Russian edition.

regions (with a mixed industrial profile) with a comparison of labor, value of production, and capital invested in various industrial branches (Tables 27 and 29), he fails to use this innovative method in his description of the heavily industrialized Donec'-Dnieper region.

Palamarčuk's economic geography of the Ukrainian SSR is an attractive and useful sourcebook for Soviet high school teachers. It offers some new concepts that are current in Soviet economic geography and a good deal of updated information. However, the book lacks scientific rigor because of some omissions and a biased methodology which is geared to re-enforcing its political presentation.

Ihor Stebelsky
University of Windsor

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

To the Editors

As the editor of Čyževs'kyj's *History of Ukrainian Literature*, I must, I suppose, consider myself lucky in attracting the reviewer's direct fire in a mere eight pages of the 116-page attack on the book which appeared in the December 1977 issue. I do not propose to reply to Professor Grabowicz's review article in its entirety. I do not believe that Čyževs'kyj needs any defense, and this book ("slapdash" or not) will survive all these attacks. All I want to do is to explain some of the reasons for the book's appearance. I do not regret having undertaken to edit the book at the request of Dr. Bohdan Wynar, director of the Ukrainian Academic Press. Perhaps I should have insisted on a more generous budget which would have prevented some of the shortcomings pointed out by the reviewer. But, like so many Ukrainian endeavors, this one was done "on a shoestring," and until our research institutes underwrite projects such as this, similar enterprises are likely to run into similar difficulties. Within the means available to us the final product is not as bad as Professor Grabowicz believes it to be. For perfection is often beyond the grasp of mere humans, occasionally even at Harvard.

It is from these academic heights that the reviewer loftily surveys the form and content of the book. His criticisms of Čyževs'kyj, which mix some highly original with some rather dubious observations, will not detain us here. His attack on the translation deserves some rebuttal, not because I was responsible for it, but because it was done by my graduate students. I doubt if the expertise necessary for a totally acceptable translation of Čyževs'kyj is available anywhere today. It calls for trained and experienced translators, which my students were not. They undertook it because experts were not available. While pointing out many mistranslations, the reviewer dons the robes of the pedant when he insists that *porivnannja* must be "simile" and not "comparison"; *antyteza* — "antithesis," not "contrast"; *kompozycija* — "composition," not "structure"; *pyšnist'* — "richness," not "pompousness"; *holos vysokyj* — "elevated tone," not "high voice"; *vijna domovaja* — "civil war," not "strife at home"; *bezsonnycja* — "sleeplessness," not "insomnia"; *jedynonačalstvije* — "autocracy," not "one man rule." There is also nothing wrong, when dealing with the literature of the eighteenth century, in translating

xlopci and *divky* as "lads" and "lasses," or *vovky-siromanci* as "poor gray wolves," or *huljaje z druhoju* as "cavorting with another." The reviewer justly points out the translators' "shaky command of Ukrainian" (p. 416), but he quite unjustly denigrates their English, and in English this book, with all its failings, still reads better than in Čyževs'kyj's "baroque" Ukrainian.

The reviewer's serious charge (pp. 427–35) that I allowed only a slightly updated, selected bibliography to be printed rests on ignorance of the negotiations between the author and myself. Professor Čyževs'kyj insisted that the very weak last chapter be included, and it was he, and not the editor, who included Vyšens'kyj in the Baroque. In answer to my request that the bibliography be updated, he firmly replied that I could add no more than ten titles. In fact, I added seventeen new titles and the choice, though it may not please the reviewer, was difficult to make.

Professor Grabowicz entitled his review "Toward a History of Ukrainian Literature." His attempt to find nothing good in either the form or the content of Čyževs'kyj's book seems to me counter-productive — unless, of course, it leads to a new history of Ukrainian literature, which may, perhaps, be written by younger scholars in the West, once they shed their pontificating airs and, instead of criticizing, begin creating. If I am still alive, I shall be the first to applaud them, should they deserve it.

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